

AUTHENTIC ELUCIDATION

OF THE

H I S T O R Y

OF

COUNTS *STRUENSEE* AND *BRANDT*.

AUTHENTIC ELUCIDATION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

COUNTS STRENSSEE AND BRANDT.



Comte Struensee
Late Physician to His Danish Majesty.

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AUTHENTIC ELUCIDATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
COUNTS STRUENSEE AND BRANDT,
AND OF THE
REVOLUTION IN DENMARK
IN THE YEAR 1772.

PRINTED PRIVATELY, BUT NOT PUBLISHED,

PERSONAGE PRINCIPALLY INTERESTED,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,
BY B. H. LATROBE.

She warned them to reflect that these transactions might somewhere be subject to revision, and that the theatre of the whole world was wider than the kingdom of (England) Denmark.

Trial of Mary Queen of Scots, Hume's Hist. vol. v. 297.

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M. DCC. LXXXIX.

P R E F A C E.

IF TRUTH may be said to lie at the bottom of a well—if it is both difficult to be obtained, and, when obtained, as difficult to be effectually established in its rights and privileges—the observation is particularly pertinent in respect to historical truth. With all our eager exertions to arrive at certainty, we can hardly ever hope to get beyond high probability. Although the great outlines of history may be fixed with a degree of certainty—to complete the picture, by exhibiting in their true colors that most interesting and useful part of history,

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history, the causes and sources of events, is always difficult, and not unfrequently impossible. Few historians have been engaged in the transactions they record: they could therefore deliver to the world only the information they had received from others, or had laboriously dug out from records and documents; the authors of which were probably interested in placing facts in some particular light, or were misled by patriotism, party, or prejudice. Even such memoirs as have been composed by men in whom every information respecting the subject of their narrative centered, who were perhaps the principal actors in the scenes they describe, are liable to this objection—that it can hardly
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be supposed that the author was impartial.

But it is almost impossible to wish that the great historians, whose works carry us so smoothly and pleasantly along the torrent of time, had confined themselves to what is most probable, or best authenticated. The defalcation would be too considerable: every pleasing *treatise* upon uncertain events would be bared of fancy and genius, and most of our elegant histories shrink into dry chronicles; the greatest heroes would want the most brilliant motives for their actions; a victory, now ascribed to the superior valor of one general, would be found to be due to the greater cowardice or misconduct of his

his enemy; the *whim* of a courtesan would recover its merit, in bringing about a revolution, from the pretended wisdom of a statesman; and the poverty of many a great man tear away the laurels which had crowned his courage or his ambition.

It will naturally be expected, that, after what I have said, I should offer to the public the present volume as a history exempt from the exceptions to which its brethren are liable; that I should explain by what a wonderful concurrence of circumstances it received a degree of authenticity to which few similar works can lay claim; that I should demonstrate, that its youth is not so *tender* as to render its judgment partial or prejudiced, biaffed

biaffed by fear, or fwayed by hope ; nor its age so *decrepid* as to make its narrative fabulous, and to place it beyond the reach of enquiry and examination. But I shall content myself only to explain the manner of its birth, and to leave its character for impartiality and authenticity to be judged of by those, who by a perusal may become more nearly acquainted with it. It was written in French by an officer intimately engaged in the politics of the Danish Court at the period of which it treats, upon separate cards: the occurrences were set down as they happened, and the cards placed in the hands of a person of the first consequence. After the ferment occasioned by the Revolution

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had subsided, the latter put these materials into their present form; and had a small number of copies printed at a private press in Germany, for the use of his friends. One of these copies fell into the hands of the editor, who hopes that the leisure which produced this translation, has not been less usefully than agreeably employed.

To enter into a discussion of the conduct of the different parties engaged in the Revolution, would be to commit the error I have above complained of. This, however, I hope, will be evident to every reader—That the great personage whose conduct comes under the more immediate consideration of Englishmen, could not, consistently with delicacy, have acted

acted otherwise than he did; and that to have made a distressing family circumstance the affair of a nation, would have been at least as subject to the just censure of the prudent politician, as consonant to the ideas of the enthusiastic *man of feeling*. I have nothing more to add, than to hope that the public will easily see the propriety of concealing the names of the authors; and to beg that a candid allowance may be made for the imperfections of a translation.

B. H. L.

Staples Inn, London,
Jan. 31, 1789.

TRACT.

acted otherwise than he did; and that
to have made a dissolving family
circumstance the ruin of a nation,
would have been at least as unjust
to the just claims of the present po-
litical, as consistent to the claims of
the catholicic world. I have
nothing more to add, than to hope
that the public will easily see the pro-
priety of correcting the names of the
authors, and of giving them a candid al-
lowance for the imper-
fections of a translation.

B. H. L.

George Inn, London,
Jan. 27. 1789.

TO VICTOR HUGO
AUTHENTIC ELUCIDATION

OF THE
HISTORY

OF
COUNTS *STRUENSEE* AND *BRANDT*.

THE History of that memorable Revolution in the Court of Denmark, of which the following sheets treat, may with propriety be dated from the return of King Christian VII. from his travels through the principal states of Europe. The characters, the inclinations, the connexions founded either upon interest or friendship, of the persons who acted a decisive part in this important scene, contained already the ground and motives of their subsequent conduct. This revolution was not one of those sudden

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and violent catastrophes, which are sometimes necessary to crush at once the dangerous influence of individuals; or to destroy a secret plot, hatched by combined interests against the welfare of the state, in its birth—it was not the bold enterprise of a great and heroic mind, roused from inaction by an impending evil, that threatened destruction to the happiness of thousands; who, with equal courage and success, broke the chains of infatuation by which the multitude had been fettered, and saved his country, upon the brink of ruin——No; it was a mine secretly contrived, and laid by envy and disguised ambition, against unsuspecting sincerity; which at once, by a dreadful explosion, destroyed the fated victims, without a possibility of escape. This is a fact—a melancholy fact indeed in the annals of Denmark; but conscientious veracity is the duty of the historian.

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To acquire a clear and authentic knowledge of the cause, origin, and progress of the great Revolution in the Danish government, which took place in the year 1772, more is required than merely an acquaintance with such accounts, or statements of facts, as have appeared before the public by means of the press. These could not, from the nature of the case, be expected to be other than partial and contradictory; and the public opinion was naturally suspended or prejudiced, as neither side could vouch for the truth of its assertions. Whoever therefore undertakes to write the history of this great event, must have been himself upon the spot, and intimately acquainted with the characters and power of those who were principally concerned in it.

In the beginning of the year 1769 the King returned from his travels. He had

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been accompanied in his tour by Count BERNSTORF; Count Frederic MOLTKE, Chief Marshal; Count SCHIMMELMAN, Royal Treasurer; and Count HOLK, Marshal of the Court, and Keeper of the Robes. STRUENSEE was in the King's suite, in the character of Physician to his Majesty. A constant and unrestrained intercourse with the young prince might have produced the most unlimited confidence: but confidence must be founded on similarity of character and principles; and unfortunately no feature in the characters of the three first of these men bore the least resemblance to that of the King. Holk and Struensee were better formed to possess his friendship; but the rank of the latter prevented his being often in the King's company, or of conversing with him at any time long enough to discover a similarity of sentiments, or to gain any considerable share

share of royal favor. The influence possessed by each of these men, upon their return, may be thus pretty accurately stated. BERNSTORF had *lost* nothing of that respect due to his rank and services; MOLTKE *retained* his appointments at court; SCHIMMELMAN *procured*, besides his appointment as ambassador to the Circles of Lower Saxony, the continuation of his office as Treasurer to the King, an employment limited at first to the duration of his travels, but which afterwards gave him that great influence he possessed in the department of finance. HOLK was, for some time, the King's first favorite; and STRUENSEE enjoyed some share of his favor, with a probable expectation of his most unlimited confidence. To the latter therefore we must principally direct our attention: we shall soon see the rest retire from the stage, upon which he, for a

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time, acted so splendid a part—Bernstorff, Moltke, and Holk, by falling into disgrace; and Schimmelman, by quitting a venal court, with the intrigues of which he was disgusted.

The King seemed at first to return to his dominions with a mind much improved. In his conduct he shewed more propriety and dignity, and his conversation was less trifling and unmeaning. He even appeared to have acquired some useful knowledge; and his subjects flattered themselves that a happy change had taken place in his principles and favourite pursuits—that, instead of indulging his passions in wild and sensual dissipation, he would devote his time to business, and to employments more worthy of his royal character. Hopes like these could not reasonably be cherished before he left the kingdom. During the reign of his father, no part of his attention
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had been directed to the affairs of government. His governor, Count REVENTLAU, a proud and obstinate man, had watched and restrained his conduct with the most unremitting vigor; but his fiery temper bore the curb with impatience: he contracted an utter aversion to every restriction of regularity or decency; and it was very evident that, the moment he could break loose from the fetters which confined his actions to rule, he would rush headlong into every species of wanton libertinism.

The sequel justified the supposition. He fell into the hands of men, whose seductions, added to his own inclinations, led him so deep into the most unbridled extravagance, that he hated and avoided the sight of every honest and good man, and dreaded their mildest remonstrances against his conduct. No care had been taken to

instil early into his mind a proper degree of veneration for religion : even in his childhood he was known to have treated it with the utmost contempt and derision. He was likewise blamed for an inflexible obstinacy of character ; though this was perhaps more the fault of his education than of his natural disposition. He was totally unacquainted with every true principle of morality, entirely devoid of dignity of mind or conduct, and wholly regardless of merit in others. He had indeed, when very young, particularly noticed such gentlemen at court, against the tenor of whose conduct no reasonable objection could be raised ; but it was to brand their virtue with the name of hypocrisy and-deceit. His whole character was without firmness ; and, though his mind was perhaps open to every virtuous as well as vicious impression, he associated with

no one who could have given his pursuits a good direction: and to give an advice in which the manners or conduct of a third person were concerned, was, by his want of thought and indelicacy, rendered a very dangerous attempt.

The sanguine hopes which are in every country excited at the commencement of a new reign, were, as far as they regarded the personal behaviour of his Danish Majesty, in some measure accomplished: but with respect to his attention to the affairs of his dominions, every expectation was disappointed. He dispatched with reluctant haste the most important concerns of the state; his dislike to business of every kind increased; and he sunk by degrees into a state of total inaction and carelessness.—The consequences of this were soon very evident. The helm of government was by *himself* resigned to the bold hand
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that grasped it; he *himself* made the surrender that deprived him of his power; he robbed *himself* of the love and regard of his subjects; and *his own* conduct and disposition paved the way for his subsequent misfortunes.

The state and temper in which the King, upon his return to Copenhagen, found his family, his court, his ministers, and his whole people, contributed not a little to confirm the unfortunate tendency of his mind. Coolness, or an actual reciprocal hatred, had already taken deep root in the royal family. The intrigues and dissensions of its members had given birth to separate factions among the servile courtiers; distrust and suspicion strongly opposed the patriotic measures of honest ministers; and the people, already dissatisfied with the enormous expence incurred by the King's tour, was kept in a constant
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state of alarm, by the violent parties which deranged the court.

What a dreadful situation for a young prince, who, brought up under the terrors of a rigorous and servile education, then suddenly immersed in a whirl of intoxicating pleasures, never had had time or opportunity to exert the powers of his own mind, or to strengthen his resolutions by the habits of rising superior to seduction, to passion, or to danger! Where should he find an adviser, or a friend? How could he keep himself from falling, when every prop that might have supported him was wanting? — But I must trace the outlines of this melancholy picture more distinctly.

During the King's absence, animosities had been carried at court to some length. The two dowager queens, SOPHIA MAGDALEN, the grandmother, and JULI-

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ANA MARIA, the stepmother of the King, both hated the reigning queen MATILDA. The dislike of the first may easily have originated in that coolness which great inequality of age, character, and manners, seldom fails to produce between princes confined in the trammels of a formal court etiquette; but neither her power, nor her situation, rendered her aversion very formidable to the young queen. The rooted hatred of queen Juliana was of more importance to her peace; and its consequences rendered it in time really dreadful to her. The nuptials of the King planted the first seeds of this animosity. Queen Juliana had violently opposed the marriage of the King, his choice, and the time appointed for its consummation. The arrival of princess Matilda increased her disgust. Every charm of youth and beauty graced her first appearance at Copenhagen; her

her whole behaviour was affability and condescension; her every glance, life, benevolence, and goodness; and she immediately took possession of every heart in her dominions.

Queen Juliana beheld these first effects of the appearance of Matilda with heartfelt chagrin. She well knew that the King had conceived an utter dislike to, and the strongest suspicion of her from his very infancy; that he was heartily disgusted by her fondness for her son Prince Frederic; and that as he suspected her of the most dangerous intentions against his person, he judged of all her actions from that point of view. She feared that these prejudices might be rather increased than diminished by his connexion with his amiable queen, and entirely destroy the influence she still possessed at court. Her fears were but too well founded. The royal palace of Friedensburg

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densburg was appointed for the residence of herself and her son, where she lived in a state of banishment. Her absence from court soon produced consequences the most disagreeable to her. The zeal of her admirers and partizans cooled; she was forgotten and neglected; and the splendor of the young queen cast a gloomy shade upon her situation. Her dislike was increased by jealousy to the bitterest hatred. The most anxious attention on the part of the young queen had no effect upon the soured mind of Juliana. A cold degree of civility, bounded within the laws of good-breeding, was all that it produced; and she missed no opportunity of treating her with haughty superiority.

This disagreeable situation of queen Matilda was, for some time, rendered less irksome by the tenderness of her husband, the admiration of the court, and the series
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of dissipating amusements contrived for her; into which her gay and lively temper rendered her capable of entering with great spirit. But this false happiness could not be expected to last long. The love of a libertine soon cools, and the King was incapable of a more exalted passion: the admiration of the courtiers was, like every feature of their character, unsteady, and of short duration; and the zest of amusements was lost by their constant return.

The queen therefore naturally soon became indifferent towards her husband, suspicious of every person belonging to his court, and quite averse and inimical to his stepmother. Her mind was too open to conceal her feelings; but the King was too deeply engaged in the intoxicating round of pleasures, in which his base companions had involved him, to perceive the change. But

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it did not escape the keen eye of Juliana. The aversion that before lurked in her breast, now broke forth into open enmity; and she took no pains to conceal her contempt of the youth and inexperience of the young queen. The birth of the Prince Royal of Denmark, which happened shortly before the King's departure, carried her animosity to its highest pitch. She saw at once all her golden hopes in favor of the idol of her heart, her son Prince FREDERIC, vanish in an instant. She had fondly flattered herself, that the sickly constitution of the King, the very evident effects of his early debauchery upon his health, and the little degree of respect shewn him by his subjects, would pave the way upon which her son might arrive, if not at the throne, at least at the sole direction of the royal authority. The birth of an heir annihilated at once this splendid prospect, and

and with it all the imaginary lustre of her family fell to the ground.

Soon after this event the King set out upon his travels. During his absence the mutual disaffection of the Queens took a turn, by which every hope of a reconciliation was destroyed. The partisans of each endeavored, by every means in their power, to render such an event impossible; and circumstances favored their designs. Deserted by her lord, and hated by her stepmother, Queen Matilda endeavored to draw from the resources of her own mind, that comfort, which a dull and almost solitary court, could not afford her. Her life was calm and serene; her hours passed peaceably amidst the tender cares of the mother, and such occupations as tended to cultivate her understanding. Her mind was naturally capable of every improvement. She took great pains to learn

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the Danish language; and in a short time she spoke it with a fluency, that greatly flattered her subjects.

A short time before the departure of the King from Copenhagen, she had lost a friend by the dismissal of Madame Von PLESS from court, whose company was her greatest comfort. Madame Von Pless had formerly held the office of Mistress of the Queen's Household; and her excellent understanding, as well as the goodness of her heart, had in a very particular manner endeared her to her royal mistress: and even the King had a great regard for her superior merit and talents. But the confidence placed in her by his Majesty, became afterwards the source of her misfortunes. She had frequently made use of the familiar freedom his Majesty allowed her, to expostulate with him upon his conduct or his principles. Her cultivated understand-
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ing and prudence prescribed the proper bounds to her remonstrances; and they were, in general, confined to incidents of his private life, or to the combating of his irregular passions.

The Queen had however, upon a certain occasion, persuaded Her to use her authority with the King, to induce him to assert his dignity, and, with a manly spirit, to shake off the subjection in which he was held by the Russian Ambassador, M. SALDER; and which was not only irksome to himself, but had likewise a most dangerous influence in state affairs. The King was weak enough to betray her to the Ambassador, whose pride was so much hurt, that he exerted his utmost influence with his Majesty, and obtained from him, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Queen, that Madame Von Pless was dismissed from her appointment, and ban-

nished the court. Madame Von der LÜHE, sister to Count Holk, succeeded her in office, but not in the favor of the Queen, who had now no person in her suite in whom she could place the least confidence.

The Queen Dowager Juliana lived meanwhile, with her son, at Friedensburg, in the same quiet and solitary manner. The small *herd* of courtiers who surrounded her, were more attached to their places and pensions, than to their mistress. The two Queens seldom saw one another; and the cold reserve which characterized their meetings, tended only to increase the improbability of a reconciliation.

These *hostile* appearances considerably engaged the attention of the courtiers; but their generally undetermined and time-serving character prevented their building any solid plan of conduct upon them. The
Queen

Queen Dowager had so entirely lost all respect and authority, and the character of the reigning Queen was so imperfectly known, that they could not promise themselves any *certain* advantage from either party, for which they might declare themselves. The King had, upon his departure, acted neither the part of a dutiful son, nor of an affectionate husband; and not one of those men, who seemed to guide the helm of government, appeared to possess any considerable share of his favor. The friendship of the courtiers, which never arises but from a prospect, and never lasts but with a certainty, of advantage to themselves, was suspended, for want of an object to fix it; and they observed to all a wavering, irresolute, and suspicious behavior. Each watched the conduct of his neighbour; and all were intent upon discovering the preponderating bias of one

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another.

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another. Not one had formed a plan of his own; but each endeavoured to find out that of the rest, in order to join in, or to prevent, its execution.

The principal men to whom the affairs of government were entrusted during the King's absence, were Counts THOTT and MOLTKE, and Chevalier Von ROSENCRANZ. The first conducted the internal business of the state; the second, in the absence of Count Bernstorff, acted in the capacity of Minister for Foreign Affairs; and the third presided in the military department. The naval department had, a short time before, lost the services of that worthy old minister, Count DANESCHOLD, by his falling into disgrace; and, though he was succeeded by Count LAUERWIG, the loss of his talents and assiduity could not be retrieved.

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Of these four men, Rosencranz was the only one who seemed capable of drawing the attention of those who were looking out for a head of their party. Chevalier VON ROSENCRANZ is a complete *man of the world*. A commanding air, an insinuating address, a captivating affability, an excellent understanding, a great propensity to intrigue, and a considerable share of artful pliability, are the principal features of his character. Though he is at present without any employment, and lives in retirement upon his estates, should the time come when men of his character are less dreaded in Denmark than they are at present, he may once more step forward, and act an important part in Danish politics.

But at *that* juncture things were not yet ripe for the formation of any plan or party: and the beginning of the King's reign had shown, in so many instances, how

closely the highest elevation, and the lowest fall, might follow one another, that no one had much reason to depend either upon the stability of his own power, or upon that of another.

The three other ministers looked down upon the intrigues of the court, as being beneath their notice. Count Thott possessed sufficient learning and virtue to afford him amusement and comfort, let what would happen. In every situation, in every change of circumstances, his mind possessed the same composure. He enjoyed the favors of fortune without pride, and lost them without depression. A man of his character was not formed to figure in political chicanery.

Count MOLTKE had, during the former reign, acted so splendid a part in the administration of government; he had improved his good fortune with so much
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prudence and industry ; he had, to all appearance, by that means founded it upon so firm a basis ; and he so thoroughly possessed the good opinion of every rank of men, that these considerations alone, seemed to place him above every accident that might be dangerous to his consequence at court. His ambition was well known ; and that he had no idea of the existence of happiness, unaccompanied by splendor. But at the same time he was arrived at a period of life when the edge of human desires is expected to be blunted, and the imaginary and unreal satisfaction arising from the shouts of the multitude, to give way to a love of peace and quiet, undisturbed by care or remorse.

Count LAUERWIG possessed no qualifications but elegance of address, and that kind of knowledge of the world, which is acquired by a long intercourse with men
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of refined manners. He had always sacrificed fame to pleasure; and had, in some instances, been guilty of such flagrant misconduct and imprudence, that he had entirely lost the respect he once enjoyed. Such principles must for ever prevent a man from making any considerable progress in the arduous paths of ambition. It was therefore highly improbable that any of these three men would be willing to undertake, or able to execute, any project depending upon deep and intricate intrigue.

The Danish nation was at this time highly dissatisfied with the so evidently disordered state of the affairs of administration. A general poll-tax had been established, when, in the year 1762, the nation was threatened by a war with Russia, as a temporary means of raising money; and it was then promised, that
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the tax would be abandoned, when its necessity should cease. The continuation of this tax occasioned great murmurings; but the application of its produce increased the general dissatisfaction still more than the tax itself. The Norwegians, in particular, remonstrated against it as a breach of public faith, in a very determined tone. These complaints had scarcely subsided, and the burthen grown less troublesome to the people, by their becoming more accustomed to bear it, when the departure of the King upon his travels produced new causes of complaint and discontent. His tour not only exhausted the Danish finances, but his expences being incurred in foreign states, left the kingdom, and especially the capital, without even the advantages arising from the residence of an *extravagant court*. The public roads were not repaired; the royal palaces required

no supplies, and employed little of the industry of the people; and the proposed augmentation of the army was neglected. The country was drained of ready money, the exchange run high in favour of Hamburg and other foreign parts, trade decayed, and the national credit suffered.

In this melancholy situation the King found his dominions upon his return. His giddiness of thought, which it was impossible to fix upon any object that did not immediately concern the common trifling occupations of his life, prevented his properly considering the tendency of these evils, and dispelled every sentiment that could have drawn his attention to them.

The young Queen, however, observed with pleasure the favorable change that had taken place in the general behaviour of her Lord, and flattered herself that he would likewise shew her more attention
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and confidence than formerly. But had he even been inclined to gratify these fond expectations, the pernicious principles instilled into and rooted in his mind by his favorite, Holk, were sufficient to have rendered his reformation of very short date. To the rest of his family the King preserved his former coolness and reserve; nor was his conduct more open or complaisant towards his ministers.

Ministers, who wished to continue in power, could not reasonably complain that their monarch willingly resigned the business of the state into their hands, and, throwing the care of government upon their shoulders, studied nothing but his own private amusement and pleasure. The King was constantly surrounded by a swarm of young libertines, whose only study it seemed, to dispel the *ennui* inseparable from his want of serious employment, and

and his dislike to his family; and who at last rendered themselves absolutely necessary to his existence. Among these, young Count Holk possessed the greatest share of his favor.

While things stood thus at court, the quiet and unnoticed protection of the King's most intimate friendship, gradually raised a man into importance, whose irresistible influence was to decide the fate of the favorites, the ministers, the family, and the subjects of his monarch. This man was STRUENSEE. The history of his rise, his achievements, his splendid fortune, his disgrace, and his melancholy end, are intimately interwoven with the Danish history, during the period now under our consideration. We shall soon see him rule both the King and his ministers, and give a new and better form to the Danish government; but we shall then see him fall from

from his elevated situation, by the weakness of his character, the errors of his conduct, but, above all, by an untowardness of fortune, that has rendered him one of the most striking instances of the instability of human greatness. It will be proper that I here insert some account of his birth and character, which will considerably tend to throw light upon the subsequent occurrences of his life.

JOHN FREDERIC STRUENSEE was born at Halle, in the year 1737. His father Adam Struensee, then minister of one of the principal churches in that city, had raised himself to that situation by merit and learning. In the year 1757 he received a vocation to the German dominions of the King of Denmark, and was appointed *Probst**, and minister of the

* *Probst*, a corruption of the Latin word *propositus*, signifies a dignitary of the Lutheran or Reformed Church, to whom the clergy of the diocese are in some measure subject.

principal

principal church at Altona; and, three years after, Superintendant General * of the churches in Holftein and Schleswig.

His mother was the only daughter of John Samuel Carl, phyfician to the King of Denmark. Struensee was therefore *not* born of noble parents †: but though pride may object to his birth, reason cannot but revere the family that produced fo eminent a man; for he was a proof that merit is not confined to any particular rank or ftation. It muft likewise be confidered, that the *low* rank of Struensee procured him many advantages that he might otherwife have wanted. The early part of his

* The Superintendants of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany, are in fpiritual affairs nearly equivalent to our Bifhops, but have no temporal rank or authority.

† It muft be remembered, that in Germany, and the neighbouring ftates, the real and imaginary privileges of noble birth, are confiderably greater than in England; and that *not to be born of noble parents*, is too often thought a misfortune, if not a difgrace.

life was spent under the care of a tender and anxious father; his education was unexceptionable; he had acquired a store of useful knowledge, and his understanding had been well employed and cultivated. From his infancy he had been inured to thought, and the instructions he received were such as could not but produce a good effect. Nature had given him an agreeable person, a clear understanding, and an enterprising spirit; but to these, and many other excellent mental qualifications, she had added some that proved very dangerous to the possessor. At a very early age, he discovered an aspiring, a restless, and unbounded ambition. The splendid accounts of his uncommon success, and of the honours bestowed upon him, filled therefore his worthy father with tender solicitude and fear. "My son," said he once to a friend, "my son will prove too weak to bear the

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"favor of his Sovereign." These words contain the whole history of Struensee. Struensee moreover had too great a love of pleasure, his ideas of morality were too loose, and his respect for religion too slightly founded. All these faults are such as are likely to be increased to a very pernicious degree, by sudden and great successes; they are the most dangerous enemies a man can have, whose situation makes him an object of general attention; they *must* lead him into great errors; and every statesman ought, from motives of policy, to guard against them in himself.

When Struensee had arrived at that age, when it becomes necessary to form some future plan of life, he resolved to study physic; and had already taken his doctor's degree, before his father was called to Altona, to which place he accompanied him. Here his merit in his profession, and his talents,

lents, soon procured him fame and respect. Among the friends he acquired at Altona, were two men, each of whom acted a considerable, but different part with him, in his subsequent advancement. These were Counts RANZAU-ASCHENBERG and BRANDT. Both seemed then his *friends*; but, in the sequel, the former became the principal instrument of his ruin, the latter the companion of his melancholy fate. He likewise secured the favor and friendship of Madame Von BERKENTHIEN, at Pinneburg. She was the lady of Chevalier Von Berkenthien, who had been formerly the governor of King Frederic the Fifth; and her interest procured him his first recommendations at court.

In the year 1768, Struensee was appointed Physician in Ordinary to his Danish Majesty; and, at the same time, ordered to accompany him on his travels.

From that moment his whole attention was devoted to the service of the King, or rather to the completion of his own ambitious views, founded on the possession of the favor of his Sovereign. Fortune seconded his endeavours; and in a short time raised him to a situation too elevated to have been attained even by great abilities, and great success, unaided by the most uncommon conjuncture of fortunate circumstances.

Struenfee had, upon the King's return to Copenhagen, already made great strides towards the attainment of his wishes. At that juncture party spirit had arrived at such a height, that separate and distinct factions began already to be formed. The most numerous and respectable of these, was that of the young Count Holk. All the ministers of state were of this party: they had nothing to fear from him; for he was too

too giddy, and loved pleasure and the *show* of power too much, to prove dangerous to their *real* influence. The only enemy they feared, was the reigning Queen; whose authority, should it ever become considerable, must, they well foresaw, be dangerous to their own importance. Holk encouraged the King in principles that could not but be highly offensive to the Queen, and deprive her of all influence with him. Nothing therefore could be more desirable to the ministers, who had no other view but the preservation of their own power, than the continuation of that degree of royal favor which Holk had acquired.

The few partisans of Queen Juliana shared with her the obscurity and solitude in which she then lived. A few young men, without fortune, without influence, and without that most necessary qualification of a courtier, experience in state intrigue,

attached themselves to the reigning Queen, whose charms and talents seemed to promise her the acquisition of great power over the King, whenever circumstances should change, or the counsels of his present favorites lose that weight with him which they then possessed. But the young Queen thought their support too weak to build any sanguine hopes upon; and she had already formed a plan, from which she promised herself more success.

Notwithstanding the youth of this princess, she had a degree of active resolution, that could not long lie idle. She severely felt her humiliating situation at court, without power or authority of any kind: and she plainly saw that there were no means left her to recover that power, which ought to have been inseparable from her rank and talents, but to acquire the confidence and esteem of her lord. She was convinced
that

that this would be impossible, as long as Holk remained his favorite. She could not place confidence in any of the ministers, but had a great dislike to every one of them; and dreaded particularly the power of Count Bernstorff. At that time there seemed little probability that the Queen Dowager Juliana would rise to importance, from the neglect into which she had sunk. She therefore boldly resolved to exert her utmost endeavours to destroy the influence of the reigning favorite, and to baffle every hostile attempt of the ministry.

Her first step was a studied attention to, and ready compliance with, the most trifling wishes of the King. An uncommon conjuncture of circumstances favored her design. Count Holk possessed not one of those qualifications of mind, by which many a favorite has defied opposition,

sition, and kept his place in spite of the most subtle intrigue. He had no knowledge of the human mind, nor was he deeply versed in the chicanery of a court; but owed his consequence solely to the character of the monarch: and himself assisted his rival, whose schemes were too refined for his comprehension, in gaining the royal favor. He introduced him, whenever he found an opportunity, into the King's company; and as he knew that the Queen hated Struensee as much as she did him, he encouraged the King to make him his companion, whenever he visited her. By this last circumstance, affairs soon took a turn, which shewed, in the strongest light, the penetration of the Queen, and the giddy inexperience of the favorite.

The Queen observed that the King's regard for Holk diminished in proportion as his friendship for Struensee increased. She perceived

perceived that the company of the latter became daily more pleasing and more necessary to him; and that his influence began to extend, not only to every concern of the King's private life, but to the most important affairs of the state. She soon saw that the conduct of Struensee was very different from the insolent behavior of Count Holk. He not only kept within the bounds of the strictest and most submissive respect; but he seemed to feel his embarrassing situation, in being so often forced into her presence for the sole purpose of insulting her. By degrees her ill opinion of his character was changed into one much more favorable; his conversation grew less disagreeable to her; and she discovered in him a superior and well cultivated understanding. The increasing partiality of the King for him caught her attention; and she treated him, at last, with a degree
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of favor and condescension which could not long remain unnoticed.

The first symptoms of a change in the King's disposition either escaped, or were beneath the notice of, the ministers, and of Count Holk: the latter even forwarded its completion. Its effects were, however, very soon evident; and to the infatuation of her enemies, the Queen chiefly owed the success of her plan. The King became tired of his way of living, and consequently cold and reserved towards Holk. Struensee gained all the consequence with him which the other lost. These circumstances did not escape the vigilance of the Queen; she saw their importance; and resolved to pursue her plan against Holk with all her power.

A series of fortunate events supported in her this dawn of hope. The office of Chancellor of State had been promised to

Bernstorff

Bernstorff upon his return from his travels with the King. This idea had been laid aside; and the regard of the monarch for him seemed to be considerably diminished.

About this time it was resolved that the Prince Royal should be inoculated for the small pox. This operation was committed to the care of Struensee, who performed it in the month of May 1770. He was at the same time appointed by the Queen to superintend the education of the young Prince. The inoculation succeeded beyond expectation, and Struensee was liberally rewarded. He was created an honorary member of the council*, and appointed Reader to their Majesties, with a salary of 1500 dollars†. This enabled him to give up his practice, and to attend constantly upon the court. Struensee had, during the illness of the Prince, entirely

* Conferenz Rath.

† About 300l. a considerable salary in Denmark.

gained

gained the favor of the Queen. Her tenderest affections were centered in her child. Her kind heart would not suffer her to leave him for one moment to the care of strangers, during a disorder, that, with the best and most skilful management, is not wholly free from danger. She herself was his nurse; she watched with him, and anxiously returned to her maternal cares the moment he awoke. Struensee became, of course, her assistant in these tender occupations; and she hardly suffered him to quit the object of her affection for a moment. This gave him an opportunity of spending a great part of his time in the company of the Queen. The natural and acquired accomplishments of his mind rendered his conversation agreeable and instructive; and his address was such as could not fail of winning the favor of his royal mistress. By degrees she found comfort, and then pleasure, in his company; the reserve on both
sides

fides wore off; and their conversations became more free and interesting. The Queen was convinced that he was a man who, if entirely attached to her interest, would be of infinite service to her in the execution of her plans; and as she thought she might rely upon his fidelity, she discovered to him, with the most unlimited confidence, the inmost secrets of her mind. Struensee was too well acquainted with the disposition of the monarch, and his own influence with him, to have the least scruple in promising her his cordial assistance, and the most certain success. From that time he devoted his whole attention to the accomplishment of her views; and she found that she might with confidence rely upon the prudence, the sound deliberation, and the success with which he carried them on. The King's affections were reclaimed; his behavior to the Queen was entirely

entirely changed; and he placed a degree of confidence in her, of which she soon made use to the attainment of her purposes. Her first step was the disgrace of young Count Holk.

Affairs had proceeded so far, before the ministers were roused from their torpid security; and they began to behold, with astonishment and dread, the sudden change that appeared in the measures of the court. They first endeavored to remove the royal page, WARNSTATT, who upon the disgrace of young Holk had stepped into his place; but they found their utmost exertions without effect. They then tried to obtain the dismissal of Struensee: but the King was deaf to their applications; for the Queen supported him with all her newly-acquired influence. They represented that degree of familiarity discovered between her and the new favorite, as improper,

proper, if not criminal; but their discovery gave them only greater reason to doubt the success of any measures they might pursue against him.

In this unfortunate turn of their affairs, the ministers received an offer of assistance from a man, who cherished the most inveterate hatred to the aspiring favorite. This was the Russian ambassador, PHILOSOPHOW. He hated Struensee, both from political and personal motives. He knew that he endeavored, by every means in his power, to induce the King to shake off the servile subjection in which he was held by the court of Petersburg. Struensee had robbed him of the affection of a lady to whom he was violently attached; and Philosophow had thought proper to avenge the insult by a public and corporal chastisement of his enemy, which shewed at once the brutality of his character and
of

of his resentment. The situation of Struensee, at that time, prevented his returning this treatment upon the ambassador; but it made the deeper impression upon his mind, and he never forgot it. The ambassador knew how entirely Bernstorff was devoted to the views of his court; and this was an additional motive to afford him every assistance in his power. He therefore endeavored to increase his fears of the consequences of the sudden elevation of Struensee; he represented to him the urgent necessity of removing so dangerous a man from court; promised to engage his Imperial Mistress in their common interest, and to support it with all *her* authority. Perhaps at that time so formidable a measure might have succeeded; but Bernstorff and his friends thought proper to decline the offer of the Russian: their self-love hid from them the real danger of their situation;

situation; and their pride despised an enemy, whose importance seemed too trifling to add glory to their victory.

This careless and inactive conduct is the more to be wondered at in Count Bernstorff, as it is certain that, a considerable time before, he had made no secret of his sentiments in regard to the character of Struensee, and the views of which he suspected him; and had thereby shewn that they had not escaped his attention, but that he had examined them with his usual penetration, and made such conclusions as the event authorised.

In the mean time the court removed to Schleswig. Bernstorff, Holk, and Moltke accompanied the King as in his former tour; Warnstatt and Struensee were in his suite. These two opposite parties seemed very unequal; but the presence of the Queen, whose power was now considerably increas-

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ed, turned the scale in favor of the latter. Bernstorff knew this, and took such measures as he thought necessary to his own security. He persuaded the Russian ambassador, who had resolved upon a journey to Aix la Chapelle, to go no further than Pyrmont, that he might, upon an emergency, be nearer at hand. He had likewise interest sufficient to keep open his office as Minister for Foreign Affairs, notwithstanding his absence from Copenhagen; and the foreign ambassadors were desired to transact their business with him by letter. It had been intended that Count Moltke should succeed to this appointment; but Bernstorff had reason to withdraw his confidence from this his old friend, since the close connexion of Moltke with Chevalier Von Rosencranz, whom he very justly looked upon as his secret enemy.

The

The Queen's party, however, successfully pursued the advantages they had already gained. By the advice of Struensee, she began to look out for a man whose rank and influence might counterbalance that of the minister. For this purpose he proposed his friend Count Ranzau-Aschenberg, who, though he had formerly shared the disgrace of Count de St. Germain, had always been personally agreeable to the King. Ranzau was then on terms of intimate friendship with Struensee, and totally hostile to Bernstorff and the Russian ambassador. As the Queen seemed very uneasy as long as Holk remained at court, Struensee improved her anxiety on this account to the advancement of his other friend Count Brandt, who had formerly possessed much of the royal favor: and as the removal of Holk was fully determined upon, he designed his appointments

for this friend; and accordingly the two Counts were recalled. The effect of their presence at court was soon very evident. The King shewed already melancholy symptoms of that deranged state of mind, into which he afterwards sunk. The only person who could have guided him to measures consistent with the dignity of his character, *Bernstorff*, found his influence rapidly declining. The King's affection for the Queen, and his favor to Struensee, partook, by degrees, more of abject weakness than of free inclination. His extreme submission to Struensee, and his pernicious and disgraceful connexion with Count Ranzau, could not but considerably lower him in the affection of his Queen, and seemed to have a bad effect upon her conduct. She in some measure departed from that dignity of manners, and that graceful reserve, which had made her more amiable than

than her beauty; and her youthful mind, unused to power, forgot the rigid dictates of prudence, and indulged in dissipated amusements, unfavorable to the preservation of an unblemished character. Her good and innocent heart led her to despise the censure of the world; and her uncommon vivacity carried her beyond the bounds which a strict regard for her reputation ought to have prescribed to her.

Holk now became more and more disagreeable to the King; and at last, by the united exertion of his enemies, lost entirely his favor. The will of the monarch flowed now in a different channel than formerly. This became very evident by the changes that took place at court, and in the council of state, upon his return to Copenhagen from Schleswig. Count Holk, and his sister Madame Von der Lûhe, Mistress of the Queen's Household, felt their

first effects: both were banished from court. Count Brandt succeeded Holk in the King's favor, and in his office as Director of the Royal Amusements.

This stroke was an effectual warning to Count Bernstorff. He saw now, too late, the effects of his indiscretion, and the danger of his situation. The only means of safety seemed the protection of Russia; and he lost no time in apprizing the minister of that court of every circumstance that had happened. This brought Philosophow immediately to Copenhagen: but his power was at an end; and he arrived merely to witness the triumph of his most inveterate foe. The times were gone when the power of Russia reigned supreme over the court of Denmark; when the King and his ministers trembled at a single threat of opposition to the Holstian treaty of exchange; when the powerful SALDER raised

raised or deposed the officers of the Danish court at pleasure, distributed its honours, and in the enjoyment of a degree of power and splendor never before known by a foreign ambassador, determined that, in spite of the will of his ministers, and the wishes of his people, the King should travel: when the proud Philosophow could guide the will of the monarch as he pleased, and, upon the appointment of Count Von Görz, the intimate friend of Count St. Germain, to a considerable post in the army, could write to the Danish sovereign, “ I have orders from my court to leave
 “ Copenhagen, and to break off all negotiations, unless this dangerous and intriguing man be immediately removed
 “ from your Majesty’s service.” Struensee, whose influence extended to every concern both of the state and of the court, had

now totally changed the will and inclination of the monarch.

The court resided, after its return, seldom at Copenhagen, but was chiefly held at Hirschholm, and was composed entirely of the Queen's party. Bernstorff could no longer conceal from himself, that the endeavors of his enemies to deprive him of the favor of his sovereign, had too well succeeded. His mind was seriously perplexed to decide, whether he ought quietly to await the fall that threatened him, or to prevent it by retiring. The first seemed more becoming the dignity of his character, and the same he had acquired. He had nothing to fear in trusting his conduct to the opinion of the world; he could reasonably expect that the more sensible part of mankind would not hastily judge of him by the appearance of circumstances,

cumstances, but deliberately weigh the real merits of his actions. He had not long to wait for the decision of his fate. As he sat down to devote some few more hours to the public welfare, he received a letter from the King, by which he was discharged from any further services. His first feelings were painful; but he soon recovered himself, and said calmly to one of his servants, who was the only witness of this disagreeable moment, "I am dismissed from my post:" and added, with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, "Almighty Ruler of the Universe, bless this country and its king!"

Thus fell this great statesman, in whom Denmark lost one of its wisest ministers, whose attention had been uniformly directed to the public welfare, and whose name will be handed down to posterity, among those of such men who have served their country

country disinterestedly, honorably, and successfully. Rosencranz, whose fall soon followed that of Bernstorff, had first contributed to render the Queen suspicious of this great man; Struensee had promoted what he began; and Ranzau struck the blow that completed his disgrace. This important event was the forerunner of those changes that soon afterwards happened.

After the removal of Bernstorff, none of the ministers had much reason to think themselves secure in the places; and their apprehensions were too well grounded. Admiral Count Lauerwig, whose daughter, upon the King's return, had been married to the disgraced favorite; old Count Holk, President of the Board of Revenue; and young Count Bernstorff, First Commissioner of the Customs, were dismissed from their employments. In a few days, the

the three ministers, Counts Holk the younger, Count Thott, and Chevalier Von Rosencranz, shared the same fate. General Hauch, President of the War Office, made room for the appointment of Count Ranzau; Vice Admiral Römling succeeded Count Lauerwig in the naval department, and in the rank of Admiral; and Count Ranzau, General Göhler, and Baron Schak-Rathlau, then First Commissioner of Finance, occupied the vacant seats in the Privy Council. The latter however soon relinquished his appointment. Without private fortune, without any expectation of providing for his family suitably to his rank, and notwithstanding he had once known better days, he still had courage to oppose certain new regulations, by which the power of the Board was restricted; to demand his dismissal; and to retire, without a pension, to his estates,
and

and enjoy his humble fortune in honorable obscurity. Count Schimmelman alone escaped the general disgrace of the Danish statesmen. He did not however owe his exemption to any particular favor at court, but to the facility with which he could sacrifice his dignity, and flatter those whose power he feared; and to his prudence in quitting the court during this dangerous ferment, taking up his residence at Hamburg, and doing the business of his embassy with as little noise and stir as possible.

The new ministry did not think proper to fill up the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs, vacant by the dismissal of Bernstorff; but notice was given to the Ambassadors, that in future all their business should be transmitted to the King himself, in writing. This measure was chiefly intended to deprive the Russian Minister of
every

every possibility of carrying on any secret intrigue, by which the execution of the new plan could be delayed or prevented. This did not escape Philosophow: he was highly offended; and vented his anger in the most virulent language, and the bitterest complaints and remonstrances. He publicly threatened the ministry with the vengeance of his court; and immediately dispatched a courier to Petersburg, with a full account of the strange transactions to which he had lately been a witness. The King sent, at the same time, Adjutant General Warenstatt to the same place, to acquaint the Court of Russia with the changes he had thought proper to make.

This great convulsion, by which almost every description of the servants of the state were affected, and by which the chief of them were thrown down from their elevated situations, occasioned the utmost consternation

sternation throughout the kingdom. Queen Juliana beheld the storm at a distance; her passions were as varied as they were impotent; and she industriously courted and sympathised with those who had been the objects of its fury.

The reigning Queen, and her fortunate adviser, enjoyed now quietly the fruits of their success. Their tranquillity was uninterrupted, but by the most luxurious amusements; and their happiness seemed to exceed the usual lot of human nature. They however did not neglect the means most likely to insure stability to their good fortune; and, to this end, they pursued a well digested plan. Struensee, whose ambition aimed at nothing less than engrossing the whole royal power to the Queen and himself, saw that this would be impossible, unless it could be united in one point, the *person* of the King. They kept him there-
fore

fore excluded from all company, as they too well knew that his will was that of those who furrounded his person. It was agreed that Brandt should exert his utmost invention, to make him pass his time in as agreeable a state of idleness as possible: and he succeeded to his utmost wish; as the mode of life provided for the King, exactly corresponded with his trifling character. This prepared the way for the most important step the Queen and Struensee had yet taken. The ministers of state, of every rank, received orders to commit all their business to paper; as the King should not in future transact anything with them in person, but give them his answers and orders in writing. The decisive effect of this measure must evidently appear from what has been already said.

About this time Adjutant General Warrenstatt returned from Petersburg, and with him

him the courier dispatched by the Russian Ambassador. The studied civility with which the former had been treated at Petersburg, raised a strong suspicion against him; and his secrecy was, in general, so little to be depended upon, that immediately upon his return to Copenhagen, he was ordered into close confinement, under the care of an officer whose fidelity could be trusted, and who had strict orders to suffer nobody to speak to him. To apologize for this step to the public, it was pretended that he had unnecessarily delayed his departure from Petersburg, and had spent several days at Stockholm without leave. But it had, notwithstanding, a bad effect upon the public opinion; and it was rumoured that the answer brought home by him, was of a very disagreeable nature. The court naturally represented the case in a different light; and Count Ranzau,

Ranzau, whose thoughts are always public property, asserted, with ostentatious satisfaction, that the Danish government had now shaken off the yoke of Russia, under which it had so long and so disgracefully labored. It seems however that Philosophow did not receive any instructions from his court to oppose the new system. He had for some time past been in a very deranged state of mind, and, upon his request, easily obtained his dismissal. Before he departed, he desired a private audience of leave of the King, but it was refused him: and he received for answer, that he must take leave in the usual public manner. He replied that his health did not permit his attendance upon so public an occasion; and left Copenhagen without seeing, or taking leave of, any one of the Royal Family.

About that time the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs was, to the great surprise of every body, given to Count Osten, who was expressly recalled from Naples, where he had hitherto resided as Danish Ambassador. Count Osten was so well known to be devoted to the views of Russia, that this appointment seemed to be wholly inconsistent with the general system of measures pursued by the Queen's party : and, soon after his appointment, he took a step, in which his character and political bias evidently appeared. Notwithstanding his desire to render himself agreeable to the party by whom he had been promoted, he determined by some means to flatter the court of Russia. He therefore drew up a kind of defence of the late changes in administration, adorned with all the flowery rhetoric in his power, and sent it to Petersburg. This dispatch found a more favorable

vorable reception than the letter of the King, and produced a better effect. The Empress, whose pride was not a little hurt at the loss of her influence in Danish politics, was glad to look upon the humiliating apologies contained in Count Osten's defence, as a complete revenge for the insult offered to her by the former letter; and by that means to get rid of this troublesome business with some degree of credit. The only answer therefore returned to the memorial of Count Osten was, that as long as the Queen, Count Ranzau, and Struensee should retain their present influence, the court of Russia could place no dependance upon the good-will or the friendship of that of Denmark.

The close of the year 1770 was distinguished by a measure that entirely subverted the former constitution of Denmark, and at the same time removed every

check upon the power of Struensee and the Queen, and placed the most uncontrouled and decisive authority in their hands. By a royal mandate, written entirely by the King's own hand, dated December the 27th, the Privy Council of State was forever abolished; and, in its place, a Board established*, consisting of the Chiefs of every other Public Board; the power of which was confined to very narrow limits. This Board was ordered to meet at certain appointed times; its power of deliberation was extended to every concern of the state, but it was entirely deprived of that of deciding upon any subject. Its members enjoyed no particular title or rank, no augmentation of salary, in consequence of their appointments; but formed a body destitute of authority, dignity, and energy, and which could at any time be abolished with-

* Conferenz-commission.

out trouble or disturbance. The abolition of the Council of State could, however, not be so quietly effected. It formed the most respectable and considerable body in the state. By the capitulation of FREDERIC the Third, it had acquired the splendid and important privilege, that its members were joint regents with those regularly appointed in case of a minority or interregnum. They had, besides, the most elevated ideas of the rank annexed to their situation; they had always flattered themselves by a comparison with the Senate of Sweden; it was their boast that they formed the only constitutional body which had survived the violent revolution of the year 1660; and they fancied themselves in some measure the representatives of the people, and the only remaining check upon the royal prerogative. The Council of State enjoyed the sole right of deciding in suits de-

pending between the nobles ; and the Danish nobility prided themselves not a little upon their ancient right to sit as members of this Council. Its abolition therefore was considered as an insult to the dignity and privileges of the whole body : from that moment the actions of Struensee, which they had before suffered to pass unnoticed, were watched by them with jealous distrust ; and they vowed to be revenged upon the author of their disgrace. These sentiments arose likewise in the breast of a man, whose rank and consequence were considerably affected by this measure. This was Count Ranzau, whom we have hitherto seen at the head of the Queen's party, but who never could forgive this instance of ingratitude to his services.

It was now necessary to proceed to such measures as tended to establish and confirm

firm those already taken. The King was therefore persuaded to deliver over the personal management of affairs into the hands of Struensee. PANNING, Private Secretary to the King, a creature of the Russian minister, was discharged. Warnstätt, who by some imprudent hints in conversation had become suspected, was sent from Copenhagen. Most of the adherents of the late ministry were, by degrees, dismissed from the Public Boards. Count AHLFELDT, whose uncommon merits had gained the general love of the people, but excited the apprehensions of the court, was removed from his post as Commander in Chief * at Copenhagen, and was sent in the same capacity to Oldenburg; and Colonel SURNE, a man from whom nothing was to be feared, was appointed Governor of that city. This

* Militaerischer Stadthalter.

last regulation completed the system formed by the Queen and Struensee, by which the Danish constitution was entirely new modelled.

The King, or rather his advisers, had now acquired the sole power of decision in every concern of state: the royal authority had now shaken off every restriction; and, directed by the hands in which it was now placed, defied every opposition. This great event had been accomplished in the course of a very few months, by a young Princess not above twenty, a man of *low extraction**, and a few young gentlemen without rank and experience.—A remarkable instance of that character of weakness and instability which is so strongly impressed upon the greatest achievements of the human race!

* See Note, page 32.

We now see the fate of Denmark entirely at the disposal of Struensee; but a dreadfully sudden catastrophe will soon tear him from his elevated seat: we shall see the short space of time, during which the reins of government are guided by his hand, teem with political projects, that are new, extensive, noble, bold, or daring. But, before we proceed to follow him in this career, it will be necessary to take a cursory view of the state of Danish politics at that period, and of the plan which Struensee had formed, in order to ground them upon a better and more permanent foundation.

Struensee was undoubtedly a very extraordinary character. But, in judging of him as a statesman, it must be considered, that, though he began a multitude of new plans, his power was too transient to suffer him to complete any one of them. To
consider

consider him in any other point of view, would be to condemn him, at once, as a wanton and selfish disturber of public tranquillity, none of whose actions had a view to the advantage of the empire he governed. But neither candor nor truth will permit us to form such a judgment.

The state of the foreign politics of Denmark had, for a very long time, depended by turns upon the influence of France, of Russia, and upon the political situation of Sweden. The subsidies paid by France, the Holsatian treaty of exchange with Russia, and the fears arising from the probable event of the intestine broils in Sweden, had successively engrossed the attention of the Danish court. The influence of France had risen, during the reign of Frederic the Fifth, superior to that of any other foreign power, but had died with that monarch. Denmark had sold its friendship

ship to the Court of Versailles, and withdrew it as soon as it ceased to be regularly paid for. A strict connexion with Russia succeeded that with France. Count Bernstorff, who, in the beginning of the present reign, had the sole direction of the affairs of government, was more inclined to cherish this connexion than the former. But, in both cases, the ambassadors of the two courts had enjoyed a degree of authority and consequence, derogatory in the highest degree to the power of the King. The French plenipotentiary OGIER, and the Russian ministers Salder and Philosophow, were accustomed never to meet with a denial. The behavior of the first was kept within the proper bounds of politeness, by his natural modesty, and the real regard which he had for the interests of Sweden; but the wanton pride of the two latter defied decency and good breeding. Their requests

requests had the air of commands; and a haughty threat was the instantaneous reply to the mildest objections. The monarch had frequently felt the humiliating situation to which he was reduced; and Bernstorff was himself secretly hurt at it: but the friendship of Russia alone was able to keep him in his post; and, without it, Denmark must have abandoned its favorite scheme.

The internal affairs of the kingdom were in a most melancholy state. The former ministers had adopted as a maxim, that the King ought to be totally ignorant of the affairs of government; and they had used every method in their power to create in him a dislike to the transaction of business. The giddy character of the monarch favored their plans, and they could not fail of success. The executive powers of administration were divided among a
number

number of men who hated one another most cordially. Each endeavored to excel the other in splendor: and as the King had no power to regulate that of his servants, a kind of anarchy ensued, the effects of which destroyed or delayed every deliberation for the public good. Interest or intrigue were the only *sure* means of preferment; and, without these, the most conspicuous merit was neglected. The finances were in the most deranged state. The enormous expences of the court; the sumptuous support of manufactories, from which no profit was derived; the overstrained encouragement of the fine arts; the immense sums squandered away in political chimæras, too extensive and exalted for the strength of the empire; and the salaries of the innumerable officers paid by government, were the principal causes of this mischief. The people were dissatisfied

fied with the many new and heavy taxes heaped upon them, and still more so with the manner in which their produce was expended. Loud complaints ensued; the subjects lost all affection and regard for their King, and ardently longed for a release from the oppressive burthens under which they groaned.

Struensee had observed these enormous defects, both in the foreign and internal state of Danish politics, with the eye of an intelligent statesman, and had formed a bold plan thoroughly to remedy both. In regard to the former, his first object was, to free the Court of Denmark from its subjection to that of Russia, but still to preserve the friendship of that power. He thought the mode in which the negotiations respecting the Holfatian exchange had been carried on, and the disgraceful manner in which a single *menace* on the
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part of Russia, to put an end to that affair, influenced almost every other plan of government, highly derogatory to the dignity of his monarch. He fully saw the importance of the success of this business to Denmark ; and resolved, if possible, to complete it, but with more dignity and boldness than had hitherto conducted it. He was therefore more cautious and prudent than Ranzau; and did not publicly assert, that the influence of Russia in Danish politics was a disgrace to the nation. He had more courage and spirit than Bernstorff; and endeavored to convert the servile subjection, with which the commands of Russia had been hitherto obeyed, into a compliance with its requests, warranted by sound policy, and compatible with the dignity of the state.

The measures which he took in consequence of these resolves, seemed well adapted

adapted to the execution of his extensive views. It was at that time rumored that a Russian squadron was in readiness to sail to Copenhagen, in order to oblige the King to dismiss Struensee from his post. This rumor, which seemed to have some foundation in truth, occasioned the most sudden and vigorous preparations. Two ships of the line, and two frigates, were immediately armed, and cruized in the road, ready to oppose the enemy ; but the Russians did not appear, and the Danish fleet returned quietly into port. This resolute measure shewed plainly that the principles of the Danish court were totally changed. Struensee had formed an opinion of the power of Russia, which no minister before him had dared to conceive. Its fallacious splendor did not blind, nor did the haughty air in which the Court of Petersburg was accustomed to speak, deceive

ceive him, in regard to the real state of its resources. He concluded that the war with the Turks, the intestine commotions that had prevailed, the many other extraordinary expences which had of late been incurred, and its great love of show and pageantry, must have nearly exhausted its finances, and rendered it desirous of keeping upon good terms with the neighbouring powers. He was therefore resolved to destroy the influence of that cowardly idea upon the Danish politics, that the assistance of Russia was indispensably necessary to the prosperity of Denmark, and that every other consideration ought to be sacrificed to the preservation of her friendship.

In regard to the interference of Denmark with the politics of Sweden, Struensee had formed a plan equally wise and well digested. He resolved strictly to ad-

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here to the treaties formed with Russia in reference to that kingdom; to keep within bounds the prevailing idea, that Denmark and Sweden must naturally be enemies; and to withdraw himself, by degrees, from any concern in the internal government and factions of that kingdom, which had hitherto cost the nation immense sums. He was likewise of opinion that good policy by no means required, that France should be treated in so cold and distant a manner as formerly; but thought it more wise to endeavour to conciliate the friendship of that nation, by a more open and unreserved conduct towards her. During the elevation of Struensee, the French and Swedish Ambassadors, Marquis de Ploisset, and Baron Sprengporten, shewed him more respect than those of any other court; and were the only foreign ministers who appeared among
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the number of courtiers who attended his levee. It was an established maxim with him, that the King of Denmark ought not to interfere in the internal government of any foreign state, excepting in as far as the commerce of his subjects was concerned : but that, at the same time, no foreign power ought to be suffered to meddle with the domestic affairs of Denmark ; and that the choice of ambassadors employed in foreign courts, ought not to be guided by a love of pomp and ostentation, but by abilities, and the real interest of the state. Throughout this plan appears so much penetration, and true wisdom, that no one but an irrecoverably prejudiced mind can possibly condemn it.

The plan formed by this remarkable character for the internal government of the kingdom, seems, however, as far as we can judge, not to have so nearly arrived

at perfection. Many of its features were noble, and do honor to the genius that imagined it; but it had likewise very considerable defects. Nor was this to be wondered at! The passions of the human mind had here more scope: neither the honor of the King, nor the glory of the nation, were always here concerned; but self-interest, and ambition, might tempt him to swerve from the paths of good policy and justice.

The situation of Struensee, in regard to his Monarch, was very peculiar. It was impossible to pursue any *mean* with him; it was necessary either entirely to govern him, or at once to give up every idea of success in any rational plan. Advice was lost upon him; and whoever wished him to execute any measure, must have had influence sufficient to *oblige* him to it. In order therefore to give energy to the authority

thority by which he acted, Struensee had formed the following plan : The decision of the King to be final in every concern of his dominions; all business to be brought before him in writing, and his answer to be returned in the same manner; should it be necessary to discuss any particular point, before a determination could be formed, the enquiries to be made, and the further proposals to be given, by the department to whose immediate inspection the affair might belong; and all business to be transacted and decided according to established method and law.

One of the first and favorite schemes of Struensee respected the reformation of the finance department. To this end he determined to concentrate the control of every branch of the revenue in one board of finance; to reject every project for its increase, by any method but œconomy; to

lead its produce from the various channels into which it might be diverted, into one general head, the treasury, that the state of the public receipt and expenditure might be seen at one view ; to render the collection of assessed taxes more easy to the subject ; to abolish payments of taxes in kind (a mode which then still existed, in some cases, but which was liable to innumerable abuses), and to compound for them in money, so as to render them more productive to the revenue, and less burthensome to the industrious husbandman ; to stop all contributions of government towards the support of such manufactories, or commercial schemes, that seemed incompatible with the nature of the climate, or the circumstances of the state ; to reduce the overgrown salaries annexed to many appointments ; to abolish every unnecessary expence at court ; to put a stop to the unnecessary

necessary building or decoration of the royal palaces ; and finally to appropriate a certain sum annually to each branch of expenditure, which should never, without the most urgent necessity, be in one year exceeded.

In the administration of justice, he had likewise projected reforms of very great importance. They consisted chiefly in reducing the number of the courts ; in establishing, as an incontrovertible maxim, that in the eye of JUSTICE no difference of rank can exist, but that high and low, rich and poor, are considered as fellow citizens of the same state ; in the abolition of all fees ; and preventing the delay of impending suits. The navy he proposed to put into the best possible condition ; but without increasing the number of ships of war then existing. But, in regard to the army, his

schemes were bold, and likely to prove difficult and dangerous in the execution.

The great and wide-extended views, which we have hitherto discovered in the plans formed by Struensee, shew his capacity and genius in the most favorable light. But in order to become more nearly acquainted with a man, whom capricious fortune had destined to act a part in the Danish history as splendid, as it was short and in the end melancholy, we must likewise consider him on his weak side, which chiefly appeared in a few wrong principles, in regard to the internal government of the empire, that were deeply rooted in his mind, and which he had found means to instil into that of the King. I shall therefore mention a few instances, in which this side of his character, his private ambition, and personal views, very plainly appear.

Struensee

Struensee endeavoured to convince the King, that it was wholly inconsistent with sound policy to draw the nobles to court; to detain them there by the hopes of making their fortunes, or gaining appointments: that while they spent their fortunes in the extravagance of a large city, the provinces were drained of money, and in the end the royal treasury must suffer. He likewise tried to persuade him, that it would be safer for his own person, and for those to whom he entrusted the execution of his commands, if the nobility lived scattered up and down the country, employed in the management of their estates, than when they lived in the metropolis in a kind of conspiracy, where, for want of proper employment, they wantonly dared to enquire into the measures of government. He wished to induce the monarch to oblige the sons of noblemen to make their way
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to posts of honor and emolument by beginning at the lowest steps, and rising by merit and assiduity, but not by birth, rank, or the interest of their relations. He likewise intended to abolish all reverfionary grants of places; all privileges of the nobles, which infringed upon the natural rights of the subject; all sinecures, and all titles to which no employment was annexed. He would also willingly have persuaded the Monarch, in filling the different posts, to pay no attention to recommendations of friends, to petitions or memorials, but to rely entirely upon the judgment of the Boards in whose department the vacancy might happen. These deep laid schemes, chiefly aiming at the privileges of the nobles, shew Struensee to have been a man who did not think himself competent to the task he had undertaken, and who was more able to project than

than to execute a good plan. A statesman never betrays his weakness more, than in discovering a dread of that class of his fellow citizens, who are the best judges of the merit of his conduct. In the hands of a wise monarch or minister, the nobility ought to be the chief support of the state, and not an object of cowardly jealousy.

Struensee insisted much, with the King, upon the abolition of all show and pompous pageantry exhibited in the metropolis, and wished to see the money, expended to feed vanity and ostentation, applied to the encouragement of useful arts and industry. He endeavoured to make every regulation of government sit as easy as possible upon strangers, as well as natives, in order to encourage rich foreigners to settle in the Danish dominions. But in regard to *public morality*, his principles were such

as could not but prove extremely dangerous in a nation accustomed to a strict show of outward decency. He meant to have lessened the severity of the laws of police; as he thought it militated against the natural freedom of mankind, to confine such of their moral actions to rule, as had no immediate influence upon the public tranquillity. Such is the opinion of men who have not sufficiently considered the importance of strict morality to the welfare of a nation; whose principles are neither founded upon reason nor religion; but who, under pretence of defending the primitive and unalienable rights of mankind, open the door to lawless disorder and confusion.

The cursory view that we have taken of the schemes and plans of Struensee, must have convinced us of their importance, and of the danger attending them. It is
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now time to follow him in their execution. The beginning of his operations was splendid, but that splendor was only a flash, and then vanished. A series of great errors soon rendered his best plans ineffectual, and supplied his enemies with the very weapons by which they destroyed him. That species of genius which Struensee could boast, seems to contain the seeds of ruin. Nature had given him much understanding, and much brighter parts than were absolutely necessary to govern the Danish empire, considering the small progress arts and sciences had then made. He was well acquainted with the human heart, and was a master in dissimulation. He had every advantage that a thinking and vigorous mind could derive from an excellent theory; but he wanted that knowledge which can only be acquired by long experience, and frequent disappointments.

pointments. A good theorist may form the best plan; but the man of experience alone can determine whether the place, the time, the circumstances, the persons concerned, render its execution proper or practicable. Struensee was undoubtedly in the situation of the former. But his elevation was one of those *miracles* of fortune, that raised him too rapidly to the highest pitch of power, to leave him time to prepare his mind for a proper use of it; and the path which almost every other traveller finds rough, troublesome, and full of danger, smoothly led him to the utmost summit of his ambition. Struensee moreover shewed, in most of his actions, that he had never properly considered the power of prejudice over the human mind; a power that frequently renders the most trifling schemes of innovation abortive, especially if a whole nation is concerned in their execution.

cution. He had never considered, that there are prejudices which may be easily removed; others that cannot be destroyed; but by the most gentle, prudent, and persevering measures; and others which are so interwoven with the very existence of a people, and which are become so sacred by long and habitual prevalence, that, without the greatest danger, they dare not even be touched. His inexperience, and his too aspiring ambition, proved the sources of all his misfortunes. He had the best political theory, but wanted the experience necessary to reduce it to practice.

The first measure undertaken by Struensee, after having succeeded in his great project of placing the whole regal power in his own and the Queen's hands, was to reform the system of finance. The necessity of introducing œconomy into the expences of the court, and of the state in general,

general, was of the most pressing nature; and the steps taken to attain this end, were not only boldly but wisely planned. The salaries of almost all the officers of the court underwent a change; most of the pensions were curtailed, and many entirely taken away. The Chief Marshal of the court, Count Frederic MOLTKE, some Ladies of the Bedchamber, and many Pages, were dismissed. The number of royal footmen and grooms was lessened. The clerks of the public offices lost their fees, which were ordered to be paid in future into the treasury. The Boards of Admiralty, Finance, Customs, and Commerce, were abolished, and one Board formed for the management of all these departments. By an order of the Cabinet, dated April 3d, 1771, the Chief Magistrate of the city of Copenhagen was deposed, and the government entrusted to two burgomasters; the

the city council, consisting of thirty-two members, was likewise abolished; the privileges of the foreign ambassadors were considerably diminished; and the horse guards were discharged. This corps consisted of three hundred of the most handsome men in the army. Their officers were afterwards distributed among the other regiments: but the privates, positively refusing to serve in any other corps, remained without employment; and three hundred dragoons were substituted in their room, as body guards. The number of horses kept in the royal studs was reduced to one hundred; and the rest, being afterwards sold, produced no more than the sum of 30,000 dollars.

The number of people deprived of a livelihood, by so many and such extensive reforms, was very considerable. Such measures are always peculiarly cruel to

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some particular class of men: and the fate of a nation is very hard indeed, when the advantage of the whole community must be purchased by the ruin of individuals. An unexpected misfortune added considerably to the distress occasioned by these reforms. A very severe and long continued frost caused a dreadful scarcity throughout the kingdom; the coast was every where shut up with ice, and the importation of provisions entirely cut off. Nothing was heard but the cries of distress and despair; and the most horrid scenes of misery every where presented themselves to the view.

In this wretched situation the people were unexpectedly cheered by a most glorious event, the effects of which were not only confined to the peasant and husbandman, but spread life and vigor through every class of subjects. By an order of government,

vernment, the services due from the peasants to the lords *, that heavy load which had hitherto clogged the industry of the most useful class of citizens, were almost entirely abolished. The peasants received the portions of ground, hitherto allotted to them for their support at the pleasure of their lords, upon better tenures; and their services were restricted within moderate bounds. These salutary regulations were first introduced in the royal domains, and afterwards extended to the territories of some lords. The measures taken to enforce the new system were carried on with so much moderation, and with so equitable a view to the rights of the lords, and the ease of the subjects, that many of the peasants, who were under the dominion of kind and

* The peasants in Denmark were before this period in a situation little superior to that of absolute slavery. In many of the northern parts of Europe that class of men are still little better than slaves.

humane masters, returned the liberty offered them to their lords, and left themselves once more at their disposal, ready to receive from them such terms as benevolence and humanity would dictate. Others, who had met with worse treatment, felt themselves happy in the protection offered them by the new law, and accepted with ecstacy a freedom hitherto unknown to them.

The peasants throughout Denmark looked upon this event as a happy omen of a total emancipation from slavery: and Struensee certainly intended to complete the work he had so humanely begun, had not the opposition of many of the lords prevented it at that time. The fame of the noble undertaking was soon spread far and near. In foreign countries it received the most decided applause; as the great advantage accruing to the state in general appeared,

appeared, without the particular difficulties or inconveniencies attending its operation. In all great and brilliant projects, single advantages to be derived from them make a deeper impresson upon the mind, than the obstacles which may hinder their execution: and the fame of Struensee was therefore firmly established by this bold measure.

Soon after Struensee had begun to put his designs into execution, he found himself under the necessity of requesting the King to dismiss from his service his private secretary SCHUMACHER, who was accordingly discharged. This astonished every one: loud complaints were made against the injustice of the measure, and these complaints were to all appearance well founded; for Schumacher was generally acknowledged to possess strict integrity, great talents, and uncommon me-

rit: he was also a man of a meek and quiet temper, and seemed very well contented with his situation. Nobody could therefore comprehend the reasons that could induce Struensee to deprive him of his situation; and the real cause of his disgrace was not known till a considerable time after the Revolution. But the circumstances were such, that he could not, with safety to himself, act otherwise than he did.

We have already seen, that the commencement of Struensee's power, teemed with important and dangerous projects. All the necessary orders were drawn up in the King's own cabinet, and from thence immediately sent to the different departments to whom their execution was committed. In order to prevent any remonstrances or opposition that might arise, he endeavoured to keep his designs a profound secret, till the moment they were publicly ordered

ordered to be carried into effect. But notwithstanding every precaution used for this purpose, he for some time after found himself disappointed; but the culprit was soon discovered. A clerk belonging to Schumacher's department, in whom he placed an unlimited confidence, and to whom he left the transaction of the greatest part of his business, had always betrayed his trust; he was therefore punished, and discharged from his service. The blame of this transaction fell upon Schumacher. He was either overladen with business, or did not possess that laborious assiduity necessary to the management of the multiplicity of affairs that belonged to his department: he was therefore dismissed, and ordered to deliver all his papers into the hands of Struensee.

The recall of Count St. Germain from his quiet and obscure retreat at Worms,

was also part of Struensee's plan of œconomy. It was generally believed, that he would be promoted to preside over the War Department, in order to counter-balance the preponderating influence of Count Ranzau. But Struensee had a very different object in view. Count St. Germain had, upon his dismissal from the Danish service, obtained a pension of 7000 dollars *per annum*, with the liberty of spending it wherever he pleased. He had even leave to enter into the service of any other state, on condition of his returning to Denmark whenever he should be wanted; and Struensee was now induced to recal him, by the hopes that, rather than return, he would be content to give up part of his pension. In this he was disappointed; and Count St. Germain, who had then no expectation from any other quarter, arrived at Copenhagen. He was very graciously received

received at court, but not employed: and, in order to recover that importance which he seemed to have lost, he paid the most assiduous court to the reigning favorite; and was, of all the Knights of the Order of the Elephant *, the only one who stooped to shew him any particular degree of respect.

Several things occurred about this time at court, that are necessary to complete the picture of the memorable scenes which we are now delineating. The anniversary of his Majesty's birth-day was celebrated by the institution of the Order of Matilda, with which none but the most faithful adherents of the court party were then honored. Upon this occasion Baron Schimmelmann gave a very superb *fete* at

* Those who are honored by wearing the Order of the Elephant, are held in Denmark in the highest esteem.

his own house; at which the Queen, accompanied by her usual suite, condescended to be present. Adjutant General FALKENSCHILD, a zealous admirer of Struensee, obtained the command of the Body Guards.

As soon as the weather permitted, the court removed to the palace at Hirschholm. Count Brandt, and M. Berger Physician to the King, were appointed to accompany the King in all his motions, and to keep every suspected person at a distance. The young monarch grew less and less attentive to the dignity of his character; his mind found entertainment in amusements infinitely below his rank; he was totally unconcerned about the affairs of the court, or of the state; and his powers of understanding seemed to become daily weaker.

The chief companions of the Queen were Ladies Göhler and Schimmelmänn,
Madame

Madame Von Euben, General Göhler, and Colonel Falkenschiold. The happy hours of Struensee were divided between the business of the state, the company of the Queen, and the education of the Prince of Denmark. He had invited his elder brother, Professor of Geometry in the Prussian Military Academy at Liegnitz, a man of talents, and who had acquired some fame by an excellent work upon fortification, to Copenhagen, and gave him a seat at the Board of Finance. His youngest brother was likewise, by his interest, promoted to a military post.

But the most important event which about that time happened, was, that the Queen of Denmark, on the 7th of July, was delivered of a daughter. Struensee and Berger attended her upon the occasion, and after her delivery no other physician approached her. This circumstance

stance afforded new matter to the dealers
 in scandal; and the secret rumours, which
 had for some time found great credit among
 all ranks of men, were revived. These
 reports had become the more dangerous,
 as it was well known that they frequently
 furnished conversation at Friedensburg,
 where the Queen Dowager and her son
 Frederic held their court. In the hands
 of Juliana these rumours lost the quality
 of unmeaning jests that are laughed at
 and forgotten, and became dangerous wea-
 pons; they were heard and encouraged by
 persons who had the power, and probably
 the wish, to employ them to the total de-
 struction of the reigning party, and upon
 which the most formidable measures might
 be founded. Happy had it been for the
 Queen had she considered this, and regu-
 lated her conduct accordingly! But she
 had still other causes of uneasiness. Among
 her

her own servants, among the ladies engaged about her person, she heard things, and perceived hints, that raised her suspicions; and she had every reason to fear that the secret of her heart had been discovered. She trembled at the very idea; she dared not even trust her own tongue; and found herself unable to keep her anxiety to herself. She feared that her behavior might betray her embarrassment, and be construed to her disadvantage. She longed therefore to find a friend into whose bosom she could pour her cares, and whose tenderness might assist her in hiding her distress from the rest of the world. She looked about among those nearest to her, and believed she had at last found a friend, who would not betray her confidence, in Madame Von Euben, a lady belonging to her suite. To her she opened her heart, with all the
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warm and artless enthusiasm of a feeling and distressed mind, and with the anxiety of one who trembles for the safety of a beloved object. She strongly expressed the dissatisfaction she felt at the many ambiguous and pointed conversations she heard, and at the freedom taken with her character: she mentioned her dread of the consequences; and entreated her to lend the assistance of her friendship in supporting her fortitude upon the occasion. Madame Von Euben listened to her with the utmost sympathy, endeavoured to comfort her amiable and condescending mistress, and vowed to her eternal friendship and fidelity.

JULIANA had in the mean time heard of the uneasiness which prevailed at Hirschholm: she however disguised her sentiments upon the occasion; and granted, apparently with great pleasure, the request of the Queen,

in assisting at the baptism of the young Princess. This, in some measure, allayed the apprehensions of the young Queen, but did not entirely remove them. She opened her mind therefore to Struensee, who agreed to her sentiments with the utmost submission, regulated his conduct according to the circumstances, and for some time avoided, as much as possible, the company of the Queen. But this distant behavior ceased on both sides with the reports that had occasioned it. Malice grew tired, and was silent; prudence was no longer kept awake by pointed suspicion; and their sentiments were again at liberty to guide their actions. — During these transactions the new English Ambassador, Mr. Keith, arrived at Copenhagen.

We are now come to that unfortunate period, when the ambition of Struensee
broke

broke through the bounds of prudence, and led him into his first great error. His happiness seemed to be complete; but he grew tired of so undisturbed, and, as he thought, so obscure an enjoyment; and rashly quitting the humble but safe protection of a rank which he had raised above insult, he mounted to one much more elevated, but at the same time exposed to the arrows of envy, hatred, and revenge.

Hitherto he had alone guided the helm of the Danish government, and had done it with wisdom and honor. But his ambition to become still greater, by the possession of a title, shewed that he judged wrong in regard to his true greatness. Struensee was accordingly raised to the rank of nobility, and obtained the title of *Count*; a title which he, at the same time, procured for his friend M. Von Brandt.

Brandt*. But his ambition was not yet satisfied. He wished for a title that should properly express the elevated post he held; and none of the titles then in use, seemed to him sufficiently dignified for this purpose: he therefore invented a new one for the occasion; and, by an order of the Cabinet, dated June 14th, he was created SECRET MINISTER OF THE CABINET†. The extraordinary power with which he was at the same time vested, was equally new with his title. He was empowered to commit to paper all verbal commands of the King, in his own words; and to send them, sealed

* Brandt had hitherto been a nobleman of the lowest rank, without any other title but the word *von* prefixed to his name, a word which is equivalent to the French *de*. The second rank of nobles is that of the Barons, *Freiherren*. The Counts, *Grafen* (of which there are several classes — as Margraf, Landgraf, Burggraf, Rheingraf, &c.), are the highest in rank under a Prince.

† Geheimer Cabinets Minister.

only with the Privy Seal, even without the King's signature, to the different Boards for execution: and these received, the day following, orders to obey them in every respect, unless they were contrary to any royal mandate already in force, in which case the department was directed to refer the decision back to the Cabinet. The Public Boards were likewise prohibited from communicating any orders to one another; and Struensee was appointed to receive all representations from the different departments; and to give such orders as were in consequence necessary. He was directed to lay, once a week, before the Monarch, for his approbation, all such orders of the Cabinet as he had thought proper to issue; by which they became equally valid with those regularly signed by the King himself. These measures were in the highest degree imprudent, both in the

King

King and in the Minister. The weak mind of the Monarch might easily be led into any error; but it is almost impossible to account for the infatuation of the statesman. The whole secret of the Royal Cabinet was thereby betrayed, not only in the most unnecessary, but in the most indelicate manner; without adding in the least to the dignity, the fame, or the power of the Minister. It was a measure the most degrading to the royal authority, and at the same time the most dangerous to the rights of the community; which, though with implicit confidence it may have trusted its privileges into the hands of an individual, never ought to bear even the idea of their being arbitrarily transferred into, and perhaps abused by, the hand of another. The character of Struensee could not but lose infinitely in the opinion of every sensible man. But infatuation had

supplanted prudence, and rashness had taken the place of sound policy.

Another error of equal magnitude followed close upon the former. Struensee resolved to render his name as famous throughout Europe, as it was celebrated in Denmark; and he thought nothing more likely to effect his purpose, than the liberty of the press. He was led into this error by the false glare of theoretical principles, the danger of which he had never considered, when imprudently reduced to practice. He looked forward to the rapid progress of knowledge, the revival of learning, the encouragement of genius, and the improvement of the whole nation, which were to be effected by this measure: he prided himself, in idea, upon the fame that would result to himself, as the author of these wonders, and thought his name already immortalized. Shallow observers
judged

judged in the same manner: they were astonished to see liberty spring up, and grow, under the protection of despotism. The new law and its author were exalted beyond the powers of expression: and Struensee became in their eyes the guardian angel of the Danish state. How much happier had he been, had he contented himself with an humbler praise, and had been satisfied to have sacrificed the vanity of popular applause to his real interest. I do not mean here to enter into a discussion of the good or evil resulting from the liberty of the press. *I think it dangerous at any time, and in any country; and as mankind improves, it becomes less necessary. The human mind must always be more successfully cultivated by a gradual and wisely restrained communication of knowledge, than by a too far and rashly extended enlargement of enquiry; and reason, assisted by experience, must in time*

necessarily destroy the effects of prejudice: and, in my opinion, religion, morality, and good policy, to whom alone belongs the decision upon the merit or demerit of human actions, will, upon this subject, be eternally at variance with modern philosophy. At present I merely consider the liberty of the press, in reference to the situation of the state of the court of Denmark, and of Struensee, at the time when he granted it in its fullest extent.

The crisis in which the state, the court, and the minister then were, must be sufficiently evident from what I have already said; and, at that moment, Struensee gave every one leave freely to speak his mind upon what had happened. Who could be more exposed to danger, from this measure, than the author of the ferment, which had hardly begun to subside? He could not at that time reasonably wish, that the Danes should minutely enquire into the
nature

nature of his authority, or into the secret tendency of his designs. He exposed thereby his power to attacks, the consequences of which could not be foreseen. He did not recollect, that the different classes of subjects are connected by the closest ties; and that the motions of the lowest must have their effects upon the superior. He did not consider how many enemies he might raise from the silence that had hitherto rendered them innoxious: he knew that their numbers were already so considerable, that he had no reason to expect any fear or moderation in their attacks; and he ought to have foreseen, that he would be driven to the necessity either of speedily repealing the new law, of acknowledging his errors, or of defying the public censure; thereby increasing the number of his enemies, and putting the very weapons into their hands, with which they would assail him.

Struensee soon felt the disagreeable consequences of his imprudence. Every day produced new satires and lampoons against him; but he pretended to despise them, and took no steps to discover the authors. This was another error, almost as dangerous as the former, and it had the most pernicious effects. The enemies of Struensee, finding that they might attack him with impunity, loaded the press with new and bitterer philippics and lampoons, and vented their long repressed malice in the most virulent terms. Their audacity spared not even Majesty itself, the King and Queen were attacked with as much violence as the minister, and the degraded dignity of the monarch became an object of the contempt and ridicule of his subjects. The evil was now grown to such a height, that the most expeditious and vigorous measures became necessary to crush it.

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Heavy penalties were denounced against the authors of the libels upon government, and the most effectual measures taken to discover them. This had an instantaneous effect; every thing was hushed into its former tranquillity; and the most perfect calm succeeded this dreadful storm. But the remedy came now too late: the minds of men were too much incensed against Struensee to be easily appeased; and the curiosity of the public had been too strongly excited, and too well gratified, to suffer the actions of Struensee to pass unnoticed as before. His warmest admirers cooled, and his most faithful adherents were shaken and become suspicious: the people were accustomed to treat his name and power with contempt: and all this contributed to render his situation precarious. The torrent of prejudice was now against him; and the whole strength
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of his mind became necessary to support him at the juncture in which it began to forsake him.

A dangerous circumstance, which happened about the end of September, too plainly betrayed his want of firmness. A body of three hundred seamen had been raised in Norway, and brought to Copenhagen, in order to man a fleet destined for an expedition against the republic of Algiers. According to an old established custom in the Danish service, the pay of a seaman commences only from the day he is put on board his ship. The Norwegians had been in Copenhagen for the space of six weeks, without receiving any support from the admiralty. Being thus destitute of employment and pay, they were reduced to the most distressing want of the common necessaries of life; but neither their misery, their complaints, nor their

their loud remonstrances could procure them relief. They saw at last that nothing but a violent effort could save them : they swore fidelity to one another, and sent a large party to Hirschholm, where the court then resided, bound by a solemn oath, never to return without redress or revenge. The conspirators left the capital in a menacing manner, and none dared to detain them. The report of their mutiny had already reached Hirschholm, before they arrived. The King was then absent, upon a hunting party with the Queen: a general officer received the malecontents, and enquired into their business. " We desire " to see our Father" (an appellation always given by the Norwegians to the King), was their unanimous cry ; " he must hear " and assist us." A body of dragoons were then immediately ordered out : but their appearance, which seemed to threaten destruc-

destruction, not to promise relief, incensed the sailors still more; they took to their arms, and seemed fully resolved bravely to repel force by force. The commanding officer however spoke to them in an affable, though determined manner; and having at length in some degree appeased them, he prevailed upon them to state their grievances. This they did in concise and bold terms. He answered with mildness, solemnly promised them redress, and persuaded them to return peaceably to town. His promise was immediately fulfilled by government, and peace and order restored among them. The conduct of Struensee in this affair would have deserved applause, had he, after having wisely prevailed upon the King to shew this proof of his goodness, induced him to act with dignity and justice afterwards. There could be no doubt of the guilt of the sailors, although the severity

severity of the law might plead their excuse. Had they been earnestly reprimanded, relieved, and the law rendered less oppressive, neither the dignity nor the mercy of the monarch would have suffered: but the minister acted upon different principles. The law was permitted to remain in force; and Admiral Rhumor, who in fact had only strictly adhered to it, was punished by the loss of his command.

This measure was as imprudent as it was unjust. The seamen, concluding that their conduct was countenanced by government, began to behave in the most insolent manner to their officers. Several circumstances told them that the King *dared* not to punish them; and this inspired their ringleaders with new courage. They conspired together, and formed themselves into bodies; the works carried on in the dock yards were neglected; they committed the
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most wanton outrages; demanded, in the most determined tone, an increase of their pay; and seemed ripe for serious rebellion. All this caused the utmost consternation at court. The Queen and Struensee feared lest the fire might spread wider, and apprehended every thing from its increase. They therefore determined, as an effectual means of quenching it, to divert the attention of the malecontents, by dissipating their minds in a most uncommon scene of pleasure. It was resolved to give a grand *fete* to the sailors; and this very extraordinary festival, considering the circumstances that gave it birth, was really celebrated at Fredericksburg, in the most sumptuous and expensive manner. With wild and boisterous pleasure the sons of Neptune enjoyed what had been provided for them, and returned home much better satisfied with their condition than before.

before. But Struensee had not wholly quelled dissatisfaction by this measure: the nobility and many of the citizens had been spectators of this mad scene, and from it had drawn conclusions the most unfavorable to the minister. It was now evident, that he was not a stranger to fear.

This was an important discovery to such as had sworn his destruction; and it gave new vigor to those whom the fear of his great power had hitherto kept in awe. Hope began again to revive at Friedensburg; and his ruin, together with that of the Princess who so powerfully supported him, was seriously though secretly planned. The Queen Dowager Juliana, and her son Prince Frederic, who was entirely governed by her, proceeded herein with great caution. They clearly foresaw that one single mistake, one imprudent step, might render all their schemes abortive.

tive. They ventured therefore at first no more than to encourage, as much as possible, the hatred of the people against the young Queen and Struensee; to try to obtain their confidence; to secure as many partizans as they could; and to pacify such as seemed most inclined to oppose them. They did not open their mind to any; but endeavoured to discover, among those that were dissatisfied with the ruling powers, such as might be safely trusted, and were most likely to prove useful. Juliana had in some degree already founded the inclinations of old Count Thott, Count Osten, and Count Ranzau-Aschberg. She thought she had nothing to fear from the first; although his age, his character, and the peace and satisfaction he seemed to enjoy in his retirement from the bustle of the court, gave her little reason to hope that he would afford her any assistance. Count Osten

Often was already very much dissatisfied with Struensee; he had twice solicited his dismissal, and it had been as often refused him. Juliana had endeavoured to foment these disaffected sentiments in his mind; and, as she believed, not without success. She feared him too much, to be easy while she supposed him her enemy; but at the same time knew him too well, to trust any thing of importance to him. But, of these three men, Juliana wished most to gain Count Ranzau over to her interest. She knew his great love of adventure; and, deceived by his ostentatious and boasting manner, she gave him credit for courage and resolution. The fall of Bernstorff, and the sudden elevation of Struensee and of the Queen's party, had already given a proof of what might be expected from him; but an unconquerable pride, a mind constantly changing, the most impudent

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assurance, and a strange mixture of heterogeneous features in his character, created in Juliana some distrust. Although he was in the highest degree exasperated against the party he formerly so successfully supported, he was, notwithstanding, suspected of designs as incompatible with the ambition of Juliana and Prince Frederic, as they were with the overgrown power of Struensee. She therefore only flattered him at present, and had the pleasure to find that he grew every day more dissatisfied with the affairs and conduct of the reigning party.

It was impossible to carry on these measures with so much secrecy, that nothing of them should transpire. But notwithstanding the rumours which were spread were vague and undetermined, they operated powerfully on the mind of Struensee. He had not yet recovered from the panic, into which the dangerous ferment, occasioned

fioned by the mutiny of the seamen, had thrown him; and his fears had been increased by a groundless report of an attempt intended to be made against his life. Formerly his resolution was never known to forsake him, excepting in the moment when he was engaged in the execution of a great and arduous design; but the least glimpse of success would recal his courage, and strengthen him to proceed to a new undertaking. But his spirit seemed now entirely broken, and he appeared incapable of bearing the load of anxiety and apprehension which pressed upon him. He threw himself at the feet of the Queen, thanked her for her gracious protection hitherto, expressed his distress and fears in the most moving terms, and earnestly entreated her to grant him leave to quit a court and a country, in which he was surrounded by his sworn

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enemies,

enemies, and in which he had become an object of general hatred. He confessed that he was unequal to the task of serving the state in the present critical juncture; and that he could expect nothing from any quarter but inevitable ruin. He expatiated upon the danger that would even accrue to her Majesty, if, in the present situation of affairs, she should oblige him to remain at court, and attempt to defend him against the growing power of his enemies. He represented to her, in the most forcible terms, that if, by any unforeseen accident, her numerous enemies should find means to gratify their revenge, she could expect no assistance from the King, but must inevitably fall a victim to their implacable resentment.— But the Queen rejected his proposals with as much warmth as he had made them: new objections, on his part, opposed her most
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urgent entreaties : and the victory was doubtful, when an unexpected turn on her part obliged him to give way, and declared it in her favour. " Stay, Struensee," said the Princess, with dignity, " or you " will force me to a step, by which either " my ruin, or my happiness, will for ever " be decided." Struensee was alarmed ; he knew her courage, trembled, and submitted his conduct and opinion to her direction. She then obliged him to swear, that he never again would make such a proposal.

Queen Juliana, to whom every trifling occurrence, every new turn which affairs were likely to take, was of the utmost importance, observed, with the most unwearied attention, every motion of the court at Hirschholm ; and neglected no means by which she could procure circumstantial and authentic information of what

passed there. Every thing she heard added strength to the hopes of success, with which the unexpected turn of affairs had inspired her. The corps of three hundred dragoons, under command of Chevalier Von Numfen, which had been substituted in the room of the horse guards, was called into service; and numerous centinels guarded every avenue of the palace. This was a matter of new surprize to the Danes; they were unaccustomed to see their monarch so strongly guarded against his subjects. When the court came from the country into the city, it was kept a profound secret at which gate the King meant to enter, till the moment he arrived. The Norwegian sailors were hurried back to their own country. In regard to foreign politics, Struensee seemed now to pursue such measures as were most likely to procure him the favour of the Court

Court of Russia. At home he became timid and irresolute : he was observed to desist from new regulations he had begun ; to continue persons in their posts whom he had threatened to dismiss ; to soften the language of his decrees ; to court men he had before despised ; to flatter those whom he feared ; and to descend to the most trifling methods of gaining the favour and good opinion of the citizens of Copenhagen : till at last he seemed to have lost all the popularity and respect he before enjoyed ; and the royal authority dwindled, in his hands, into contempt.

But notwithstanding this confused and irresolute state of his mind, he flattered himself that his own power would so long continue safe, and baffle every design of his enemies, as he could prevent them from gaining the least communication with the King. He knew the character of this

Prince too well, not to be aware that, without the influence of friendship or partiality, his will might easily be guided by any one who understood the art of governing him, either by fear or by seeming to enter with pleasure into his trifling amusements. He was fully acquainted with the weak and disordered state of his mind; and knew that one single moment might entirely change the principles of his conduct, and lead him to resolutions highly dangerous to the interests of those, who at present seemed to possess his entire confidence. To prevent this, the residence of the King in the country was protracted beyond the usual period; he was never left one moment alone, but was constantly surrounded by men upon whose fidelity the Queen and Struensee could place the most certain reliance. Every word he spoke was reported to them; without

without their knowledge he hardly quitted his apartment; and Brandt and Berger were particularly directed never to lose sight of him. His principal and favourite companions had for some time been a young negro boy and a girl about ten years of age; and in their noisy and riotous mirth, they spared neither the windows nor the furniture of the palace, nor the statues in the garden.

Having taken these measures, the mind of Struensee became less apprehensive of danger from that quarter; and he began again to turn his attention to the transaction of the affairs of government. But the burthen was grown too heavy for the powers of his mind, now weakened by anxiety and distress; and he resolved to call in the assistance of his brother, whom he meant to raise from the post he then held, at the Board of Revenue, to the dignity

dignity of Minister of Finance, and to commit that extensive department entirely to his management. In the metropolis Struensee had made many regulations, that furnished his enemies with a fair pretext to raise against him the hatred and contempt of the nation. He had almost entirely overturned the old system of police, had abolished many of its laws, and made but few to supply the deficiency. His model, in this reform, was the system of police established at Paris. In many respects he could not have made a better choice; but regulations perfectly consistent with the manners of a refined and luxurious nation, and perhaps necessary in an immense city swarming with strangers from all quarters of the globe, were but ill adapted to the taste and habits of the cold and quiet citizens of Copenhagen. By the new regulations, luxury of the most pernicious

pernicious kind was allowed and encouraged, and the public morals stood in the greatest danger. The people were astonished, murmured at these innovations, and considered them as an insult offered to that sobriety and decency in which they had been educated. Complaints and sarcasms became the voice of the people, and discontent spread through every rank of men.

The advanced season of the year made it now necessary that the Court should leave Hirschholm. Juliana, with her son Prince Frederic, had already removed from Friedensburgh to Copenhagen; but the Queen and Struensee did not venture to follow her, but persuaded the King to take up his residence at Friederichsburgh, a palace situate contiguous to the city. They there proposed to await the event of a bold and dangerous measure, which had been long planned,

planned, before they dared to enter a place, where all their enemies were now collected; a measure which gave the last and mortal stab to the power of the Queen, and the popularity of Struensee. On the 21st of December an order of the Cabinet was published, by which the Royal Foot-Guards were discharged; and two days afterwards it was put into execution.

The circumstances that attended this measure, and the consequences that ensued from it, afford a striking instance of the debility and insufficiency of authority, ever so dignified, when, unsupported by popular opinion and approbation, it is employed against an object which a nation has long been accustomed to regard with reverence.

The Royal Foot-Guards consisted of five companies of Norwegians. In consequence of the royal mandate, they were assembled

affembled upon the parade; and one of their officers announced to them the will of the monarch, by which the whole corps was disbanded, and the men ordered to be dispersed among the other regiments. A murmur of disobedience ran through the ranks; the resolution of the soldiers was unanimous; a word, a look, communicated it through the whole corps; and, with one voice, they loudly demanded either their full discharge, or to be re-embodied into a distinct regiment, from which none of them desired to be separated. Their officers mildly remonstrated, and represented to them the necessity of their obeying the King's orders: but this only tended to irritate them still more. They repeated their first demand with violence; the officers grew more severe in their remonstrances; the troops became more determined; threats succeeded arguments; and the

the soldiers, carried to the highest pitch of resentment, separated with the most dreadful cries. The troops of the garrison nearest at hand were immediately called out, and commanded to follow them: but their rage had now no bounds; they fell sword in hand upon their pursuers, put them to flight, and streams of blood flowed on both sides. Alarm and confusion became general; the frightened inhabitants fled, nor dared to approach this dreadful scene of horror. The garrison was called to arms, and the more distant posts drawn to assistance: the battle was renewed; a small number of the insurgents were taken prisoners; one company escaped, and hastened immediately to the North Gate: the troops posted there were unable to oppose them, and they took the straight road to Friederichsburgh, where the Court then resided. The rest returned to their quarters

quarters at the palace, and entrenched themselves as well as they could.

The Governor of Copenhagen had, at its first commencement, apprised Struensee of this dangerous tumult; and the consternation occasioned thereby at Court was incredible. The case demanded immediate redress; and to comply was the only means to restore tranquillity. Struensee wrote, in the greatest haste, a decree, in which the King granted every demand of his Guards; and an officer was immediately dispatched with it to meet them. But they had already reached the palace; and desired, in the most violent manner, to see the King, and to demand justice at his hands. The appearance of the Body-Guards, who were under arms, did not alter the tone of their demands. The officer bore the first effusions of their rage with prudent patience, expostulated with them

them calmly, and persuaded them by degrees that the King was willing to grant every thing they could desire, and at last induced them to return to the city.

Immediately upon their arrival they marched, without meeting with any resistance, to the palace, and brought to their comrades the joyful news of their success. The victory they had thus gained inspired them with new courage, but did not wholly satisfy them. They did not trust implicitly to a promise obtained by force, but agreed that, unless a formal discharge were given them, their safety ought not to be depended upon; and they entered into a solemn engagement to one another, confirmed by a dreadful oath, sooner to die than to desert their common cause. Three regiments of infantry, and two squadrons of horse, were by that time drawn up, and surrounded the palace: they knew this; but
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it did not appal their courage, or change their resolution. None dared to approach them but their own officers; and the negotiations lasted the whole day and part of the night. At one o'clock the next morning, they surrendered up their arms, and separated; but not till they had obtained the completest victory. Every soldier obtained the most formal and full discharge, signed by the King himself, three dollars in hand, the property of their regimentals, and a release from all demands upon them for money advanced to them by the Treasurer of War. With these trophies of victory they then peaceably went home, and the night passed without any further disturbance. Early in the morning about four hundred of them left the town. In every street they passed they loudly bid their fellow citizens farewell; and this moving scene made a deep impression upon

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the minds of the inhabitants. They crowded together from all parts of the city; the citizens threw money among the soldiers, and endeavored to comfort them. The sailors ran wildly about, and their barbarous cries re-echoed in every street. The people became riotous and irritated, indulged themselves in loud complaints and curses against the causes of this commotion, and threatened open rebellion. Major General Gude, Governor of Copenhagen, accompanied by many officers, endeavored to quiet the populace, but in vain; he was torn from his horse, and trampled in the dirt: the officers were ill treated, and some of them wounded. In these outrages the disbanded soldiers had no part, but peaceably left the town. The mob continued riotous till the evening, when it separated, and the night passed without disturbance.

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This dreadful transaction ought to have served as a lesson to Struensee, and to have led him to more moderate and prudent measures. But it had a contrary and a bad effect upon his mind; it made him still more irresolute and timid: and his situation seemed not only precarious, but pitiable. All this did not escape the attention of the English ambassador Mr. Keith. The general conduct of the Queen gave him the utmost uneasiness; he foresaw, from the evident turn of affairs, the fall of Struensee, and dreaded the consequences which that event might have upon the fate of the Queen. He concluded that the removal of Struensee from court was indispensably necessary to her safety; he knew that her commands alone kept him in a situation he wished to relinquish; and as he supposed that the want of money, perhaps, prevented the minister from

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resigning,

resigning, he made him an offer of a very considerable sum: but the influence of the Queen rendered unfortunately his endeavors fruitless.

Struensee saw now evidently, that it was become highly necessary for him to hide his fears and anxiety from his enemies, and to watch their motions himself: he resolved therefore to delay the return of the court to Copenhagen no longer. With this plan the Queen was by no means satisfied; her mind seemed secretly to forebode the dreadful fate which there awaited her; and when she at last complied with the request of her adviser, it was with the greatest reluctance. Struensee was too well aware of the great danger in which his personal safety would be, in case of another riot; and he therefore took, immediately upon his return to Copenhagen, the most serious measures to provide for his

his own security. The guards stationed about the palace, and the arsenal contiguous thereto, were doubled; a number of cannon were brought out; and six thousand cartridges delivered to each regiment. These measures operated much to his disadvantage; they betrayed his fear, and an inward consciousness that he had violated the rights of the people. In his administration of government, he seemed to relinquish every plan he had formed, and to direct all his exertions to the present exigency. The royal dignity of the monarch was therefore despised, his authority ridiculed; the power of Struensee seemed a short, but a disturbed dream; the King was pitied; and the Queen would have been hated, had not every glance of her eyes had the power to banish enmity and discontent. A distant and faint hope of deliverance seemed to dawn upon the nation;

but universal contempt accompanied every idea of the quarter from whence it was expected. The ferment had spread through the whole nation; in the capital its effects were powerfully felt, but its drift and aim were hidden in obscurity. None appeared capable of drawing any advantage from the general commotion; many schemes were agitated, but no resolutions formed; parties were every where seen, but no leaders; much hatred existed, without determination; and many projects, without any settled plans. The enemies of Struensee were numerous, but disunited; every one of them would willingly have ruined the other, could he have done without his assistance: enmity was deeply rooted in every mind, but fear curbed its effects; every one complained, but obeyed.

During these disturbances the designs of Queen Juliana ripened; and her party became

came more strong and vigorous by the acquisition of a man, who seemed, in himself, sufficient to accomplish the great plan which she had projected. This was Colonel Köller, an officer who commanded one of the regiments that composed the garrison of Copenhagen. An affront formerly offered by Struensee to an officer in his regiment, the only friend he had, had so exasperated him against that minister, that he vowed eternal hatred against him. No man was more formed to act consistently with such a principle than Köller. A bold and resolute mind, the most inflexible obstinacy joined to the roughest manners, an invincible firmness, a choleric disposition, a soul capable of the most violent affections, an inexhaustible stock of self-praise, a comely person, and an extraordinary strength of body, were the principal qualities of this man. The plans of the Queen

Dowager had not escaped his attention. Full of discontent and revenge, he repaired, a few days before the new year, to Juliana; opened his sentiments to her with the most unlimited confidence; begged her to promote his revenge, and the welfare of the whole nation, by effecting the downfall of the reigning party; and made her an offer of his best services. Nothing could be more acceptable to Juliana than such an offer, nor more agreeable to her wishes at that time. She received him with the most lively assurances of favor and protection; and discovered to him, in return, the whole of her plan. The most complete opportunity to gratify his private revenge struck the Colonel in a moment: he seized it with all the violence of his character; swore fidelity to the cause of Juliana, in the most solemn manner; and entreated her not to discover, as yet, their common

common design to any one. The Queen promised secrecy, and she kept her word; but at the same time she did not neglect to secure to herself the influence of Count Ranzau. Without giving him the least hint of what had passed between herself and Colonel Köller, she told him, without reserve, that she was wholly dissatisfied with the present state of government, and of the court; that she could no longer patiently bear the power of a Princess to whom she never could be reconciled, nor the authority of a minister who seemed more the lord than the servant of the nation; that she severely felt the indignity offered to the nobility, by their total seclusion from all participation in the affairs of government; and that, finally, she could no longer endure the humiliating state to which she and her son were reduced. She endeavored to excite his ambition by the most splendid prospects,

prospects, to entice his self-love by the most flattering commendations, and by every method in her power to raise his indignation against her enemy. But Ranzau was too refined a courtier not to discover, under the mask of confidence, an intolerable pride, and an insatiable thirst of power; and he even began to suspect her of having already formed some plan of future conduct. Although, therefore, he most cordially hated the Queen and Struensee, and was in general much dissatisfied with the state of affairs at that time, he had no inclination to raise any other party to that height to which he had raised Struensee. He was more displeased with the source of that power, which was so grossly abused, than with the power itself. His ideas upon this head comprised views of greater extent than he had courage to accomplish; and they were as obscure and indistinct as all the rest

rest of his conceptions. Sometimes he proposed, in the romantic flights of his political dreams, to rescue his country not only from its present subjection, but from the possibility of ever being again reduced to so abject a situation. In this view he had placed his hopes upon a neighbouring nation. Numberless impracticable projects occupied the mind of this strange man. But his pride would not for a moment submit to the idea of his being a tool of the revenge of another.

From the nature of Ranzau's answer, the Queen plainly perceived, that though for a time he might probably espouse her cause, he never would become a faithful and useful servant. This however was enough to forward the execution of her present plan. She therefore concealed from him her real intentions, and only endeavored to foment in him his aversion to

Struensee.

Struensee. She neglected, in the mean time, nothing, by which she might gradually prepare the minds of men for that great event, the accomplishment of which seemed now to approach to probability. She did every thing in her power to increase the hatred, already prevalent among the nobility, to the reigning Queen and Struensee; and her emissaries were industriously employed in disseminating rumors among the people, calculated to incense them still more against that party.

Notwithstanding the secrecy with which these preparations were carried on, they could not escape the observation of those who were practised in the chicanery and intrigues of courts. They excited the suspicions of several of the foreign ministers, among whom the Swedish and French plenipotentiaries deserve principally to be mentioned. The Marquis de BLOSSET, a nobleman

nobleman who united with the most acute penetration the purest integrity, and the keen eye of an experienced observer with the cool impartiality of a disinterested spectator; and Baron SPRENGPORTEN, who, during his residence at Copenhagen, had been habituated to the most watchful attention to every motion of party, and whose judgment was as sound as his enquiries were indefatigable—thought they had discovered some secret plan ripening into future importance. Their suspicions fell upon Ranzau and Köller. Both these men seemed for some time past to be in a state of constant restlessness. Bitter reflections upon the reigning party frequently escaped them; and they seemed to be engaged in some negociation of importance with those few noblemen who still resided in Copenhagen. The Swedish ambassador was particularly interested in discovering the true
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state of affairs. Sweden was more likely than any other nation to draw advantages from the failure of the schemes of Queen Juliana. Struensee had always favored the interests of Sweden, and was equally jealous of the views of Russia. But the situation of Sweden at that time prevented the court of Stockholm from deeply engaging in any foreign exertion. GUSTAVUS had scarcely mounted the throne; the affairs of his own dominions completely engrossed his attention; and he had formed a plan, the execution of which required the exertion of all his power and authority. Baron Sprengporten, upon this occasion, acted the part not only of a zealous servant of his monarch, but of a wise statesman. Ranzau had placed great confidence in him; and frequently opened his mind to him, with unbounded freedom, upon the particular situation of Sweden, and even upon the

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the politics of the Danish Court ; he had endeavored to convince him of the solidity of his schemes, and to gain him over to his interest : he assured him of his affection to the Swedish nation, and swore that he hated and despised the Court of Petersburg. But the Swede was too wise to pay much attention to the dreams of Ranzau ; but he made use of the confidence reposed in him, to appease his turbulent and distracted mind ; and to convince him, not by the artful insinuations of the politician, but by the warm expostulations of the friend, of the futility and pernicious tendency of his schemes, which seemed altogether likely to be productive of new embarrassment and distress. He endeavored to direct his mind to the more solid advantages to be derived from the present deranged state of affairs, by employing gentle means, and leading the minds of those
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who held the reins of government, to a better system of principles and conduct; in which endeavor, rational expostulation always effected more than menace or reproach. He hinted to him, that it was not difficult to judge into whose hands the regal power was likely to fall, if the present administration were subverted, and he warned him to beware of the insidious and dangerous flattery, by which his false friends endeavored to lead him into a situation, in which he would find himself surrounded by new enemies, in place of those he had vanquished. These considerations had the desired effect upon the mind of Ranzau; and he promised, by following the advice of his friend, to give him the surest proof of his gratitude.

Ranzau kept his promise, although he foresaw that all his endeavors must be in vain. Soon after the commencement of the

the new year, he paid Struensee a visit, and led the conversation to the situation of the affairs of government. Had Ranzau seriously intended to persuade Struensee of the necessity of his adopting other measures, or had he only been a man in general capable of procuring confidence in his sincerity, their meeting might have been important and decisive. Ranzau tried to make Struensee attentive to the weak side of many of his actions; to fix his mind upon the real state of his affairs, and their probable consequences; and to convince him of the danger of his situation. Struensee met his arguments with objections, his protestations of candor with thanks, and his warnings with the usual smile of contempt of a short-sighted mind, who sacrifices every rational consideration to the illusions of vanity and self-love. Had this unfortunate minister calmly

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listened to the arguments of Ranzau; had he considered the circumstances attending this extraordinary visit, and the tendency of this unexpected expostulation, with an unprejudiced and candid mind; had he seen his errors, and had he been willing to correct them, he had won over to his side the future leader of his enemies, and ensured victory to himself, and destruction to his foes.

The chagrin which Ranzau felt upon the ill success of this his last effort in favor of Struenfee, was in exact proportion to the great trouble it had cost him to prevail upon his pride to make it. He now saw plainly that nothing was to be expected, from the exertions of a man ruined by too much success, towards a change in the administration of affairs: he also felt that it was in vain for him to hope to be at the head of any party; that he possessed not one of those

those qualities by which friends and adherents are won and secured; and he therefore resolved to join at once the party of the Queen Dowager. Juliana had then concerted every necessary measure with Colonel Köller; she then sent for Ranzau, in order to discover to him the whole of her plan. To her great surprize, she saw in his behaviour a total change; she found him ready to execute her commands, and to undertake the conduct of a principal part in the conspiracy. The Queen knew, however, that in order to secure the effectual assistance of the Count, it was now necessary to lose no time in putting her plan into execution. She was under equal anxiety in regard to Colonel Köller; and she delayed therefore not a moment to impart her designs to the man whom she had fixed upon as the third leader in the conspiracy. This was Colonel EICHSTÄDT,

a man devoid of any useful qualities of mind, but who had the dragoons belonging to the garrison under his command, and upon whom therefore the success of the whole undertaking in a great measure depended; especially as no reliance could be placed on any of the other commanders, all of whom owed their posts to Struensee. Eichstädt, who had been hitherto unknown and neglected at court, and unnoticed by the nobility, and who thought the present opportunity of acting an important character, more a dream than reality, was carried so far beyond the utmost pitch of his former ideas, by the thoughts of becoming useful to a QUEEN, that he was wholly unable to consider the consequences of the proposal made to him. He at once submitted himself to be entirely guided by the Queen, promised every thing required of him; and thus every measure

ture was contrived and finally determined upon.

The seventeenth day of the year 1772 was fixed for the execution of this dreadful plan—a plan by which the consort and the friends of an unhappy monarch were violently torn from him; by which he was irrevocably confined under the rigor of a much more cruel guardianship than that to which he had hitherto submitted; by which his whole power was transferred into the hands of his step-brother, a prince whom both his heart and head rendered wholly unworthy of the charge—a plan by which a young and amiable Princess, who deserved a better fate, was for ever deprived of the pleasures of a Queen, a wife, and a mother; which polluted the Danish soil with the blood of an innocent man, and destroyed the peace of many worthy citizens—a plan which furnished

the Danish nation, hitherto unacquainted with disloyalty and rebellion, the most horrid example of these crimes; and dishonored the annals of the country, by recording the most shocking instance of implacable revenge to be met with in history.

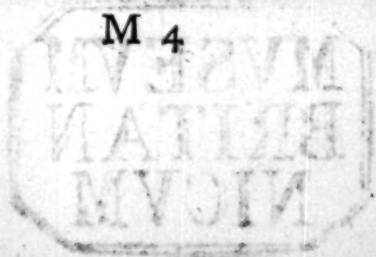
A splendid ball given at court, on the night of the 16th of January, facilitated the execution of this plan, which in a moment robbed the Queen and her friends of every thing that was dear to them: and not till early the next morning were the astonished inhabitants of Copenhagen apprised, that the Queen, the first minister Struensee, his brother the Commissioner of Finance, Count Brandt, and all the principal adherents of that party, were imprisoned. A mixture of indescribable anxiety and astonishment spread with the news through the whole city. The rapidity

dity with which this dreadful catastrophe had been planned and executed, must astonish us, when we look back to the source from whence it originated. A Princess generally known to be weak and timid, and a discontented officer, formed the plan; a courtier, whose talents were in a great measure obscured and rendered useless by levity and inconsistency—and another officer, devoid of judgment, or any other useful qualification of mind—assisted its execution, and that with the most complete success, against a Queen and a powerful party, who, till the very moment in which the blow was struck, possessed and directed the whole energy of regal power. This event is certainly one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the annals of any country.

But before I proceed to a more particular narrative of the circumstances which

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attended



attended this catastrophe, I must observe that, throughout the revolution, no orders were issued by the King, but which were procured from him by art or by force. From the first moment of the revolution, the King of Denmark must be considered merely as the empty shadow of regal power, the substance of which was wholly transferred to Juliana and her son Prince Frederic. The decision in every public concern depended upon their will; they became the fountain of honor; they gave the orders which the King signed; and they assumed the direction even of the most minute actions of the monarch. They would have even proceeded still further, had not, fortunately for the King, the head of his step-brother been as weak as his heart was malicious; and had not the measures pursued by Juliana been as much intended to protect her son, as to injure the



the King. She had too much penetration not to be aware that she and her son might possess more real power under the nominal supremacy of the King, than if she were to rob him of that empty distinction. She knew that, among all the enemies of the late reigning party, she could not boast one real friend; and, warned by its fate, she resolved peaceably to enjoy the advantages she had gained under the mask of moderation; by which she hoped to hide, from the eyes of the public, the real nature and tendency of her designs.

I now come to the circumstantial account of this extraordinary revolution.—The regiment commanded by Colonel Köller, the most zealous and the boldest of the conspirators, was, on the 16th of January, ordered to be upon guard in and about the palace; and on the same evening a grand ball was given at court. In the whole

whole garrison of Copenhagen, this was the only regiment from which the Queen Dowager and her adherents could expect support to her designs ; and the ball gave her the most favourable opportunity to prepare every thing for their execution. Juliana saw, at one view, every advantage to be derived from so fortunate a concurrence of circumstances, and determined not to lose one of them : she therefore previously concerted every measure with the conspirators ; and awaited, with the most anxious impatience, the decisive moment of action. To her ardor the day seemed to pass heavily ; the hour of complete revenge was in prospect ; but, should her measures miscarry, she saw nothing but the most inevitable ruin before her eyes. The mean and timid character of her son, the unruly zeal of Colonel Köller, the levity of Count Ranzau, and the doubtful courage
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of Colonel Eichstädt, filled her mind with anxiety and apprehension. Night at last approached, and the ball commenced. It was afterwards observed, as something very extraordinary, that not one of the foreign ministers, except the British ambassador, was present. Queen Matilda indulged, with the most unsuspecting and careless gaiety, her passion for lively amusement; and, at one o'clock in the morning, she closed the ball, by dancing with Prince Frederic: and the principal leaders of her party had the honor of playing with the King. These were the last joys of the devoted victims! The ball was concluded, and every one betook himself to rest. In the mean time such preparations were made, as soon roused them again to unexpected horrors.

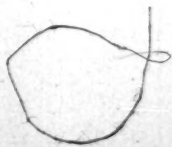
The clock struck three—the dreadful hour fixed upon by the conspirators for
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the execution of their designs. A dead silence reigned throughout the palace. Colonel Köller then went round to the different posts, collected his principal officers, and carried them to the guard-room. He there declared to them, that, by express orders of the King, he demanded their assistance in taking the reigning Queen, and all her adherents, into custody; and commanded them to follow him to the Queen Dowager. The horrid importance of this business, the dreaded authority of the Colonel, the affected dignity and well-simulated coolness with which he pronounced his short harangue, so stunned the officers, that not one dared to ask him to produce his orders to them. Had but one of them had sufficient courage and presence of mind to have made so natural a demand, the daring Colonel would have appeared before his officers, not as
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an obedient and loyal subject, but as a nefarious conspirator, convicted of the most impudent falsehood ; they would, as their duty required, have secured his person ; and the whole plot must have miscarried. But Köller was no less fortunate than he was bold. They followed him to the Queen Dowager, where Count Ranzau at the same time arrived, accompanied by one Guldberg, formerly a schoolmaster, who had been employed in drawing up the plan of the conspiracy, and in writing out the necessary orders. In the mean time Colonel Eichstädt had armed his dragoons, and surrounded the palace, in order to prevent the entrance of any person, and to receive the prisoners. The different parts were soon distributed among the conspirators. Ranzau was appointed to arrest the Queen, Köller to secure Count Struensee ; and the rest of the officers were ordered to
take

take Count Brandt, and the other principal leaders of the party, into custody. Köller immediately hastened to the apartments of the first minister; the officers dispersed to their different posts; and Queen Juliana, Count Ranzau, and Guldberg, who carried a candle before them, went to the chamber of the King. To their great disappointment they found the door locked, and not one of the keys and picklocks, with which they were provided, would open it. The loss of a moment was of consequence to the undertaking. Ranzau flew to the apartment of the page who was in waiting, entered the room with great noise, pretended to be in the utmost consternation, and ordered him to repair immediately to the chamber of the King. The frightened page hastened to assist his master, and met Queen Juliana, Prince Frederic, and Ranzau at the door, who ordered him

him to open it immediately. The unusual hour of the night, the known characters of the persons he saw, and the anxious impatience he perceived in them, raised his suspicions, and he refused to comply. The Queen was in inexpressible consternation; the Prince trembled; and Ranzau, and Guldberg, whose candle fell from his shaking hands, did not venture to take the keys from the page by force: he was strong and resolute, and they wished to make no noise. Ranzau therefore endeavored to effect that by fear, which he could not by persuasion: he told him that the whole town was up in arms; that the rebels were ready to penetrate into the palace; that the guards could not withstand their fury; and that no time was to be lost, if they wished to save the life of the monarch. The Queen and her son joined in affecting the utmost solicitude for the safety
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of the King. The page was first moved, then alarmed; the promise of a considerable reward completely overturned his resolution; he yielded, and led the Queen and her suite into the chamber of the sleeping monarch. The curtains of his bed were furiously torn open; he awoke suddenly, and started;—no time was left him to recover from his fright. Ranzau denounced ruin and death; placed every image of terror before the eyes of the Monarch; and his fruitful brain supplied him with new images of unreal horror: he painted the rage of a rebellious nation, conspired to shake off the yoke to which the Queen and Struensee had subjected them, crying aloud for justice, and determined to be satisfied with nothing less than the death of the victims they demanded. “What a dreadful misfortune! whither shall I flee?” cried the King, half dead with

with fear; "help me, advise me, tell me what I shall do."—"Sign these orders," returned Ranzau, with double fury; "this alone can save the King, his royal palace, and his people." The papers lay ready upon the table, and the Queen held the pen, the instrument of the destruction of the King's best friends, and of her complete revenge. The King took it with trembling hand; but the moment he espied, upon the first paper, the name of his Queen, MATILDA, he threw it away with vehemence: it was as if this name, which had so long seemed wholly indifferent to him, at once roused the dormant powers of his mind. He endeavored forcibly to rise, but was as forcibly prevented: another torrent of menaces and terrors was poured out upon him. Ranzau accumulated the most horrid falsehoods: "The people," cried he, "are at

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“ the gates of the palace, fire and sword
 “ in their hands, and direful vengeance in
 “ their hearts : escape will soon be in vain ;
 “ the palace will soon be in flames, and the
 “ monarch the first victim of their fury.”

The King's courage could not repel this second attack ; fear overpowered him, tears ran down his cheeks, his hand trembled, he guided the pen without knowing it, signed the orders, and Ranzau hurried to see them executed.

Colonel Köller had, in the mean time, proceeded to the apartment of Struensee, without waiting the King's orders to arrest him. Having left the officers who accompanied him in an adjoining room, he entered the chamber alone in which the minister lay. Struensee was roused by the noise with which the Colonel approached ; he knew him immediately ; and, equally frightened and astonished, he asked him,

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by whose authority he dared to enter his chamber at so improper an hour?—"I will tell you that immediately," cried Köller; "rise this instant." He then seized him by the throat, and shook him so long and so violently, that resistance was in vain: the courage of Struensee was soon overpowered; he surrendered, and was carried to the prison ready prepared for him in the citadel. Had this unfortunate minister possessed sufficient presence of mind, by the least resistance, to have detained his daring enemy; to have called in the assistance of the officers that accompanied him; and to have required him, in their presence, to produce the royal orders, Köller would not have had the same success then, which crowned his effrontery in the guard-room, and would probably have been the victim of his own temerity. The eldest brother of the minister, Count

Brandt, General Göhler and his lady, Colonel Falkenschiold, the Royal Physician Berger, General Gude, Governor of Copenhagen, Baron Bülow, the Secretary of State Zöga, and many other friends of Struensee, were then apprehended, and quietly carried to different prisons.

But the most dreadful scene of all was still to be acted. Count Ranzau, accompanied by Colonel Eichstädt, and a few other officers, repaired to the chamber where slept the beautiful and amiable Queen MATILDA. The noise occasioned by their entrance into the antichamber alarmed her, and she called her attendants. Pale and trembling they entered the apartment; fear had rendered them incapable of answering her questions. Terrified by these appearances, she rose to enquire herself into the cause of their terror; when one of them informed her that Count Ranzau, accompanied

accompanied by a train of officers, had entered the antichamber, and desired to be announced to her in the name of the King. "Ranzau!" cried she, "and in the name of the King? Run to Struensee, and call him to my assistance." She was then informed that Struensee had been secured and carried to prison. "I am betrayed, I am undone, I am lost for ever! But," added she, more composedly, "let the traitors come in; I am prepared to meet my fate." Half dressed she went to meet them with the most undaunted fortitude. Ranzau respectfully addressed her, and read the orders of the King: she heard him without interruption, desired to read them herself, and Ranzau delivered the paper to her. Having read it quite through without betraying the least sign of fear, she threw it upon the ground with contempt, and

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cried,

cried, "The character of treachery in you,
 " and of weakness in the King, is so
 " strongly stamped upon this whole trans-
 " action, that I shall not obey these or-
 " ders." Ranzau entreated her to con-
 form to the commands of the monarch.
 "Commands!" cried she, with indigna-
 tion, "commands of which he himself is
 " ignorant—commands forced by the most
 " villanous treachery from foolish imbe-
 " cility—such commands shall never be
 " obeyed by a Queen." Upon this Ran-
 zau grew more serious in his expostula-
 tions; and informed her that his orders
 must be obeyed, and without loss of time.
 "Till I have seen the King," returned she,
 "your orders shall not be executed upon
 " me. Bring me to him immediately; I
 " must, I will see him." She then step-
 ped forward towards the door, but Ran-
 zau stopped her: he grew impatient, and
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his entreaties were changed into threats. "Wretch!" cried the enraged Princess, "is this the language of a subject to his Queen? Go, thou most contemptible of beings! go from my sight, covered with your own infamy, but never feared by me!"—The pride of Ranzau was touched; he cast an enraged look at his officers, fraught with a dreadful meaning; and the boldest of them stepped forward to seize the defenceless Princess. She tore herself from his arms, and called for help with all her strength, but in vain, for no assistance was at hand. Thus, struggling alone against armed men, distracted with rage and despair, she flew to the window, tore it open, and attempted to throw herself out. One of the officers held her in the very moment: her fury now knew no bounds; she seized him by the hair, and dragged him to the ground: a second at-

tacked her ; and with equal strength and courage she disengaged herself from him. This shocking, this inhuman spectacle, which would have forced the dagger from the hand of the most bloody assassin, made no impression upon the mind of Ranzau and his banditti. They united their coward strength against this noble heroine ; and she fell at last breathless, and almost fainting, into the arms of one of the officers. As soon as she had somewhat recovered, and it appeared evident that she could make no further resistance, she was forced to dress herself in an adjoining chamber ; and Ranzau, who was mean and cruel enough to insult her with offensive and indecent language, led her to the carriage which waited to carry her to the fortress of Cronenburg.

Major Kartenschiold, and another officer of still inferior rank, entered the carriage with

with her ; and the fourth seat was filled by one of the most menial of the Queen's domestics. During the whole journey the Major sat by her with the naked sword in his hand : a strange company for a Queen ! But it was the lot of this amiable Princess not only to experience the most complicated misfortunes, but to be treated with exquisite inhumanity, insult, and contempt. The cruelty of her enemies was even carried so far, that all those of her attendants, to whom she had a particular dislike, were selected, and appointed to wait upon her at Cronenburg. Thirty dragoons guarded the coach which conveyed the Queen ; and in another carriage followed the infant Princess Louisa, a lady of the Bedchamber, and a nurse. The Queen, oppressed by the deepest distress, remained silent during the whole journey ; but as soon as she saw the fortress of Cronenburg,

nenburg, she awoke from her melancholy trance, and cried with vehemence, "Heavens! I am undone, my Lord has deserted me!" Upon her arrival in the fort, she uttered loud complaints; and, overwhelmed with unspeakable distress, her knees refused their support, she sunk down upon the stairs, and was dragged into her bedchamber. The sight of a bed alarmed her; she stepped back, and cried, "Take me away, take me away! rest is not for the miserable! there is no rest for me!" She was then put into a chair; her bosom heaved with violent sighs, her whole frame seemed agitated and convulsed with anguish, and she at last burst into tears. "Thanks to God," cried she, with fervency, "for this blessing! this is a comfort of which my enemies cannot rob me;" and hearing the voice of her infant daughter, she flew to her with rapture:

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“ And art thou here, poor innocent creature?” cried she, “ then is thy unfortunate mother not wholly wretched.”

With the most moving affection she clasped the babe to her bosom, kissed it with ardency, while a torrent of tears bedewed its cheeks. The moments of distress gave way to the ecstatic joys of maternal love, could but this pleasing dream have lasted longer than a few moments.

Queen Juliana and Prince Frederic had not quitted the King, till they were apprised that the Queen had been secured and carried off. They feared lest a sudden emotion of compassion or contrition in Ranzau might at once destroy their plan of revenge. They knew that one glance of the Queen was sufficient to turn the anger of the King, which it had cost them so much pains to put into motion, against themselves. None possessed the power to
excite

excite compassion in a greater degree than Matilda ; the King had still some degree of fondness for her, and cordially hated his stepmother and her son.

It was now thought necessary, in order to deceive the people, to dissipate the mind of the King, and to persuade him that what had happened was done to gratify the wishes of his subjects; to act a political farce, which cost no great trouble in the performance, and met with tolerable success. The report of the violent revolution which had taken place had scarcely spread through the court and the city, when all the streets were filled with the inhabitants, led more by curiosity, than resentment against the fallen party; and more inclined to commit outrages, than to express either joy or grief. They felt no compassion for the unfortunate victims of revenge, with whom they had long been dissatisfied; nor pleasure at
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the success of the victors, whom they never had loved; but wildly ranged the streets, without knowing themselves what object to pursue. Wretches, hired for the purpose, mixed with the crowd, and brought a large concourse of the inhabitants to the palace. The King, Queen Juliana, and her son, appeared in a balcony; mercenary voices endeavored to raise the acclamations of the mob; and a party of hired sailors filled the air with their barbarous shouts. The names of Frederic and Juliana were heard, but the people did not repeat them; and the applause was cold, and without animation. — But not far from the spot another scene had been prepared, more suited to the taste and inclination of the populace. Near the palace stood a building which had been adapted by one of the citizens, at a great expence, and with much taste and elegance, to public balls, assemblies,

assemblies, and other entertainments. Struensee had made the plan, and the King had defrayed a considerable part of the expence of this edifice. Some sailors, taking advantage of the reigning confusion, broke open the doors, forced their way into the house, and plundered whatever they found. The crowd rushed in after them, carried away chairs and tables, tore down the hangings, and committed the most wanton outrages. Notwithstanding the wild extravagance of this scene, it was performed in the most astonishing silence. No quarrelling, no oaths, no curses were heard; every man carried quietly home his share of the plunder; nor did the guards interfere, or endeavor to preserve order. This indulgence did not escape notice, and encouraged the populace to proceed to new depredations. They ran to the houses of ill fame, broke open the doors, plundered
whatever

whatever they found; and many of them were completely ransacked. This tumult and confusion favored too much the designs of the authors of the revolution, to meet with any opposition from them; they made the best use of it to inflame the minds of men, and to give a specious colour to the horrid catastrophe they had brought about, as if it were the affair of the whole nation. About twelve o'clock at noon, when the riotous mob filled every street, and during the most licentious scenes of wantonness, the unfortunate Monarch was led through the streets of Copenhagen, in his state-coach drawn by six horses, and dressed in his most sumptuous robes and jewels, in the hated company of his step-brother, to be a witness of transactions in the highest degree disgraceful to his power, to his royal character, and to the dignity of the nation. A few hired sycophants pretended

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to be eager to draw his carriage; the King stared and laughed; and the Prince endeavored with might and main, by violently nodding his head, and waving his hand, to assure the people of his grace and favor.

Queen Juliana was, in the mean time, engaged in quieting the astonished inhabitants of the palace, and in trying to convince them of the necessity of the measures which had been adopted. She gave each of them a separate interview; and endeavored, by every means in her power, to persuade them, that her conduct had been guided by the purest motives of regard for the King, and zeal for the welfare of the country. She expressed her readiness to bestow upon them proofs of her favor; and dismissed them all with the most solemn assurances, that they would always find in her a friend and protectress. But her
flattering

flattering promises, and studied condescension, was so interwoven with an evident consciousness of power, which she could not suppress, and with so visible a satisfaction in the triumph she had obtained, that her true sentiments could hardly be mistaken. But honor and favor flowed now in a different channel; a new altar was erected to receive the offerings of homage and servility; and it was too late to resist an authority, which, by the most unexpected and sudden victory, had rendered itself superior to every other power in the state. One man only, far more ennobled by his character than his birth, a man better formed to practise the private virtues of the citizen, than to shine in the intrigues of a court, ventured to seize this opportunity, when he thought the heart of Juliana open to every noble and disinterested sentiment, to remind her of Count

Bernstorff, and even to express an ardent wish for the recal of that great minister: but the sudden change the bare mention of his name produced in the countenance of Juliana, which she in vain strove to conceal, and the cold and affected gravity of her answer, clearly shewed him that the honesty of his own heart had strangely deceived him.

On this day of terror and confusion, nothing was neglected that could possibly give a favorable colour to the violent changes that had taken place. Even the holy name of religion was, in the most base and shameful manner, prostituted to deceive the multitude in respect to the true causes of the revolution; and so iniquitous a measure alone shews, in their true light, the principles of those who had conducted it. Public thanksgivings were ordered to be held in all the churches; the
venal

venal tongue of profane clergymen mixed with the praise of the Almighty the purchased lyes of defamation; an unfortunate citizen was publicly accused of treason against his sovereign, Struensee was cursed as a regicide, and the deceived multitude thanked God for the deliverance of their Monarch from a danger to which he had never been exposed. The name of the reigning Queen was, without an order from the King, omitted in the public prayers, and her character blasted in the temple of truth by the bold assertions of malicious falsehood; the pulpit proclaimed her the enemy of the tranquillity and happiness of the state: and, to indulge a base revenge against innocence, the sanctity of the temple of God was profaned. But why should this excite our wonder? Fanaticism and self-interest had conspired against her; qualities wholly incompatible

with every idea of moderation and rational conduct.

But night, and the hour of reflection, approached; a dangerous hour for those whose actions dread the examination of cool judgment. The victorious party was aware of this; and a general illumination of the town was provided, to amuse the minds of the inhabitants. This had its effect; the mob was in motion the whole night; the wild noise of tumult passed for the acclamations of joy; but few were deceived by it. The stage rung with hired applause, but it was feebly re-echoed by the audience; and the people in general (who, far from being joyful upon this occasion, was not even long quiet) took, a few days afterwards, a part in a scene at the court theatre, which, though it was at first ridiculous, became from its consequences very serious, and plainly shewed that the minds
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of the people were in the greatest ferment, and that their satisfaction with what had happened was very little to be relied upon.

The day succeeding that of the revolution was fully taken up in bestowing rewards upon those, to whose exertions its success was chiefly owing; in taking the first steps against the victims of triumphant revenge; and in preparing for such measures as were most likely to secure the advantages gained, and to conceal the nefarious means by which they had been acquired. Count Ranzau was created a Knight of the Order of the Elephant, and General of the Infantry; Köller was invested with the Order of Danebrog, raised to the rank of Lieutenant General, and received letters of Danish nobility, with the additional name of BANNER, a name formerly borne by an old noble family,

family, then extinct; Eichstädt was likewise made Lieutenant General; and all the officers who had contributed to the success of the revolution were raised one step. Count Osten was commissioned to seize all the papers and effects of the prisoners, and to put them under his seal. Schumacher, who had been dismissed by Struensee from the office of Secretary of State, was recalled, and ordered to assist Count Osten in the execution of his commission. But the most important step taken by Queen Juliana comes now under our consideration; a step upon which all her subsequent measures were founded, and by which the regal power was entirely transferred into the hands of her son Prince Frederic and herself.

But before we proceed in the history of a revolution, by which the person of the monarch, and the constitution of his dominions,

minions, were so materially affected, it may be necessary to delineate the character of a Prince who was thereby raised to so exalted a sphere of action. Prince Frederic is by nature endowed with no distinguishing qualification but his high birth: he has a deformed person, a weak understanding, and a bad heart. The defects of his body he endeavors to conceal by an affected splendor of dress; his want of understanding, by a cold and haughty reserve; and his unfriendly disposition, by forced and unnatural expressions of favor and condescension. He is naturally timid and irresolute; his conduct to those from whom he has nothing to fear, is haughty and overbearing in the extreme, but humble and cowardly to such as stand in the way of his designs. The small stock of political knowledge which he possesses, is the acquirement of memory, not of judgment.

Guldberg prepares and instructs him in the part he is to act in the Council of State; and he repeats, with hesitation and uncertainty, what he has laboriously learnt by heart. If he is contradicted by any of the ministers, he loses the thread of his discourse; and a second interruption entirely discomposes him. Real merit he always treats with coldness, and often with envious contempt; and the most trifling disagreeable circumstance excites his anger, and stimulates him to revenge. He hates the King, is ungrateful to his mother, and jealous and cold to his consort.

This is the Prince who, upon the restoration of the Council of State under the title of the Privy Council, was placed at its head. By this council every concern of the state was to be considered and decided. Old Count Thott, Baron Von Schak-Rathlou who was recalled from his retirement

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to the country, Count Osten, Count Ranzau, and General Eichstädt were the members of this council. A Council of War was also established, consisting of Ranzau, Eichstädt, and Köller-Banner. These steps being taken, Count Osten invited all the foreign ministers to him, in order to explain to them the changes which had happened at court; and he declared to them, in the name of the King, that the revolution which had taken place respected merely the royal family, but by no means affected the disposition of his Majesty to the different courts whom they represented.

This declaration was received by all with most reserved and cold expressions of thanks. It was impossible that any honest man should have felt otherwise upon the occasion. The English ambassador behaved, in so critical a juncture, with that dignity
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and prudence which was naturally expected from so wise and experienced a man : the moderation which at that time marked every one of his actions, is still remembered in Copenhagen with the applause it deserves. He saw, at one view, at what point his influence ceased ; but the measures he took in favor of Queen Matilda were such as he could not only take with safety, but were conducted with spirit and zeal. His answer to Count Osten was concise and determined : he seriously warned him of the consequences that would ensue, if the person of the Queen were violated ; and threatened the most dreadful vengeance against the Danish Court, if the least insult were offered her. He immediately dispatched a courier to England, to acquaint his Britannic Majesty with every circumstance that had happened : he never appeared in public ; and only then frequented

quented the court, when his absence would have been a breach of the necessary etiquette.

The unfortunate MATILDA was in the mean time solitary, deserted, and oppressed by the most exquisite distress, and the most dreadful uncertainty of the fate destined for her. Her tears, the company of her infant daughter who never quitted her knees, and the melancholy satisfaction of indulging her grief undisturbed by unfeeling witnesses, were her only comforts. It was three days before her attendants, who began to be seriously apprehensive for her life, could prevail upon her to take any nourishment, or to lie down upon her bed. The King had already forgotten her; and Queen Juliana and her son did all in their power to keep his mind from returning to an image which had once so wholly occupied it. But still they were uneasy;

uneasy; they feared lest compassion for her sufferings might as unexpectedly start up in his mind, as any other of his whims; and he might, in such a moment, give secret orders for her release, or take steps dangerous to their power or safety. But they were still more apprehensive that some one, equally bold and fortunate with themselves, might oblige him to sign such papers as would roll back upon themselves the fate they had prepared for their enemies. Their encroachments upon the royal authority had, by this time, extended too far to leave room for hesitation in any thing they thought conducive to their interest. They therefore sent an order to the Governor of Cronenburg, that in case he should receive any orders from Copenhagen, relating to Queen Matilda, *signed by the King*, he should return them immediately to the Council of State, without

out obeying them; and in general pay no attention to any commands, but such as were signed by the members of the Council of State, whose duty it was. Similar orders, equally new, and derogatory to the majesty of the King, were publicly sent to all civil and military chiefs, and to the superior and inferior courts and offices, under the pretence of effectually preventing evil-minded persons from counterfeiting his Majesty's sign manual, who might abuse it, to the subversion of all government. Could any measure be a more daring insult to the unfortunate monarch than this? or could he, by any means, be more degraded in the eyes of his subjects? Loud complaints had been made against the arbitrary proceedings of Struensee; but thus far he had never carried his presumption. He had never taught subjects to despise the signature of their monarch; under his administration

ministration it was still the necessary and only mark of the validity of all laws, regulations, and orders. But now majesty was deprived of its most sacred rights, and robbed of every shadow of dignity and power. It is astonishing that, notwithstanding the imprudence which marked this daring measure, its success was complete; and it furnishes a striking instance of the cold and indifferent character of the Danish nation, and of the contemptible condition to which the monarch was reduced. A step still more bold, a public acknowledgment of the incapacity of the Sovereign to guide the helm of government, and a formal delegation of the royal power to Prince Frederic, as regent during the minority of the heir apparent, would have been, in the eyes of Europe, an act less insulting to the majesty of the King, and to the dignity of the nation. But,
without

without entering into the discussions of all the probable difficulties that might have stood in the way of such a measure, there was one great obstacle to its execution—the above-mentioned right of the nobility to share the regency with the regent legally appointed; an obstacle which, as it counteracted the ambitious views of Queen Juliana and her son, was insurmountable. This circumstance is sufficient to cast a true light upon the causes of the revolution; and it plainly shews, that the King was taken from the hands of mild guardians, and thrown into a state of the most abject subjection, which his envious governors did not even think it worth while to conceal from the public eye, by keeping up a plausible appearance.

Nine commissioners were now appointed to examine the prisoners judicially. Count Struensee, the Minister of Finance his brother,

ther, and Count Brandt, were put in irons. Colonel Falkenschiold was thrown into a narrow and damp dungeon, in which sailors were usually confined for mutiny. The unhealthiness of the place threw him into violent convulsions, and his life was in the utmost danger. A petition was therefore presented to Prince Frederic, praying that the Colonel might be removed to a less unwholesome prison: but he rejected it; and added, with a disdainful smile, "A man who has fought with
" Turks ought to be sufficiently hardened
" to bear such a situation." Old General Gude, who had been imprisoned, chiefly from a fear that he might raise the garrison against the conspirators, was liberated; and Lady Göhler was released from her confinement in the citadel, and put under close arrest in her own house. A number of persons of all ranks, who were
suspected

suspected of disaffected sentiments, were banished, some from the city, others from the kingdom. A double number of centinels were placed before the prisons which contained the principal victims; and the commissioners began their work in examining the letters and other papers that were found in their dwellings.

The British Minister about this time received his first instructions from the court of London. The Danish cabinet did not however seem uneasy on this head; but hoped that, however great might be the displeasure of the British Monarch upon this occasion, the nation at large would hardly be brought to interfere, and that of course no danger was to be apprehended from his anger. The ambassador received likewise a letter, which he was ordered to deliver to the King of Denmark from his British Majesty. By what has transpired

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concerning its contents, we can affirm that, though it expressed the utmost grief at what had happened, no menaces were used against the instruments of the revolution: the fate of the Queen was left to the King, provided nothing were attempted injurious to her person, or derogatory to her high birth and rank. The conduct of the ambassador was likewise highly approved by his court.

But notwithstanding the mild terms in which this letter was written, Mr. Keith declared to Count Osten that he had orders to quit Copenhagen immediately, if a divorce should be decreed between the Queen and her husband. This menace had not the least effect upon the measures of her enemies. The resolution which decided her fate was already taken; but a formal trial was necessary, to pronounce the sentence, not to determine upon it.

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Her enemies were too inveterate to shew her the least tenderness, too unfeeling to pity her, and too elevated by success to fear the consequences of their revenge. It was however resolved, that the trial of the Queen should be separated from that of the other prisoners, that it should be held secretly, and that the documents should be communicated to the court of London.

The business of the trial of Struensee and his friends was now seriously undertaken : but to enter into the detail of all the judicial proceedings, would be as tedious, as it is unnecessary, to the reader. But, before I proceed to give an account of the final determination of this great cause, it may be proper to premise some observations upon the charges, which, after long and laborious enquiry, were exhibited against Counts Struensee and Brandt. If I thereby interrupt the series of my narrative,

I hope I shall be excused, as it will tend to throw a clearer light upon what follows.

The sentence directed to be pronounced against Struenfee and Brandt by the commissioners appointed to examine their case, was such as to decide, at the same time, the fate of all their friends and adherents. In order therefore to punish the latter with some appearance of justice, it was necessary to convict them of crimes flagrant enough to render the very connexion with the culprit equally criminal. No pains were therefore spared to accumulate the accusations, and to contrive some charge against them, upon which a sentence of death could be well founded. They and their friends were therefore frequently called forth, and underwent long and tedious examinations. The fortitude of Struenfee soon forsook him, but Brandt and Berger preserved an unshaken firmness of mind.

Every

Every person who had been, in the most distant manner, connected with them, was rigorously examined ; and proofs of their guilt were searched for with no less industry than difficulty. The charges were at last produced, consisting of accusations that were either false, doubtful, or ridiculous ; but upon the strength of which a sentence was pronounced, which must involve for ever the characters of those who were concerned in it, in infamy and disgrace.

The principal charges against Count Struensee were the following :

- I. A horrid design against the life of his sacred Majesty.
- II. An attempt to oblige the King to resign his crown.
- III. A criminal connection with the Queen.

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IV. The

IV. The improper manner in which he had educated the Prince Royal.

V. The great power and decisive influence he had acquired in the government of the State.

VI. The manner in which he used this power and influence in the administration of affairs.

The two first of these articles were entirely false, and they were struck from the charges finally exhibited against him by the Fiscal General WIVET, as his worst enemies did not venture to bring them to the proof; and indeed common sense must sufficiently shew their futility. Struensee must have been not only a stupid, but an insane statesman, had he ever attempted to destroy the life, or subvert the power, of the King. He would thereby have thrown down the only pillar that supported his

his own power, and have deprived himself of a protection, under which alone he could be feared by his enemies.—But why should I waste time in attempting to refute such allegations? To compare them with every circumstance attending the revolution, is alone sufficient to shew the reasons why they were made, and the basis upon which they were founded. The people were still cold and indifferent; and it was necessary to inflame the minds of men in general against the devoted victims of personal revenge. Nothing could do this more effectually, than to spread reports of this kind; and, by employing a considerable time in hearing and examining the accusations, to give them a color of truth, and render them generally believed. The populace, to be convinced, must be inflamed; and the judges of Struensee made good use of this political maxim, in con-

triving, by various methods, to exasperate the public against him.

The third article contains, perhaps, the only charge against Struensee, upon which strict justice could have pronounced sentence. This weak and irresolute man, depressed by misfortune, terrified by being threatened with the most excruciating tortures of the rack, confused by the artful and ambiguous questions put to him, and perhaps enticed by a faint hope, that the only means of escape left him, would be to make *his* cause the cause of the Queen—made, upon his examination on February the 21st, a confession, delivered with all the confusion natural to a distracted mind, by which he highly impeached the character of the Queen, and cast a melancholy shade over a certain period of her life. This confession was a new crime, which roused the indignation of every honest mind against him :

him: but, in the distracted state of his mind at that time, he was wholly incapable of one manly action.

The education of the Prince Royal, for which Struensee, instead of punishment, deserved the highest reward, was exhibited against him, in the fourth article, as a crime of the deepest dye. Such an accusation could only be made by deeply rooted prejudice. Every man of common sense ought to possess sufficient strength of mind, let prejudice be ever so venerable for its antiquity, to shake off its chains; and not to sacrifice, with the most ridiculous scrupulosity, and the most immovable obstinacy, reason and sound judgment to every habit or method bequeathed to him by his ancestors. In the eye of prejudice, every flight of genius appears audacious and dangerous; every salutary regulation, if new, seems a criminal innovation; and every

every foolish and pernicious custom, if sanctioned by antiquity, is adorable and sacred. Unless the power of prejudice be overcome, mankind must for ever wander in error and uncertainty. These considerations are here by no means out of place, but naturally result from the charge of which I am now speaking. The manner in which the Prince was educated was undoubtedly new, and could not but appear very strange to that class of men, who, by indolence or stupidity, are chained to the usages and opinions of the last century. This class of men is perhaps more numerous in Denmark than in any other European state: they decided without judgment; viewed the conduct of Struensee, in this respect, with jealousy; and complained aloud of the dangerous innovation. To this class of men belonged the judges of Struensee, if we suppose them to have been convinced

convinced that in this particular he was to blame; but we must rank them much lower, if they brought forward this accusation merely to accumulate the charges against him, and to render him an object of public hatred. The principles upon which the education of the Prince was conducted, must appear to an enlightened mind to merit neither punishment nor ridicule. Before he came into the hands of Struensee, the young Prince had a strong tendency to the rickets; he was sickly, peevish, low-spirited, indolent, timid, and obstinate; in a word, the most stupid and ungovernable child imaginable. But in a very short time he recovered a degree of strength, naturally to be expected from the bodily exercise he took; his health was firmly established; his inoculation was attended with the greatest success; he soon learned to despise the assistance of nurses,
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and other female attendants; and grew strong, active, and careful in his behavior. By degrees he entirely lost that servile timidity so natural to children brought up under the scourge of unnecessary admonition and correction; he grew more docile and lively, shewed attention to what was taught him, and made observations scarcely to be expected from his tender years. This candid and true state of the case renders it unnecessary to make any further remarks upon this charge. Truth, corroborated by such facts, must be superior to every attack of falsehood and slander.

The power and influence acquired by Struensee in the affairs of Denmark, and the use he made of his power, formed the two last charges against him. Every one acquainted with the character and disposition of his enemies, must be inclined to think, that not one of them would have
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made use of the power annexed to the same elevated situation, with the same degree of wisdom and penetration in the administration of public affairs, or with the same disinterestedness in regard to the private advantages to be derived from it. The sketch I have given of his sudden elevation, of his bold measures for the reformation both of the external and internal politics of Denmark, of the principles upon which he acted, and of the general tenor of his conduct, is, I think, sufficient to clear him of the two last accusations.

Struensee owed the distinguished rank he enjoyed entirely to the favor of his monarch, and to the confidence he reposed in his talents and abilities. These charges therefore fall upon the King, rather than upon the man who was so fortunate as to possess his favor and confidence in so great a degree; and, in the mouth of his judges, they

they became a daring, and, in a subject, criminal disapprobation of the conduct of the monarch, by which his Majesty was publicly insulted. This was therefore a subject upon which a proper sense of loyalty ought to have kept them silent, if even the justest charge could have been made against him. But, besides this, his judges were too unskilled in politics to be able to comprehend, much less to decide upon, the merit or demerit of his political actions; and, in their examinations respecting this charge, they pursued a line of conduct worthy of their ignorance: they made general groundless complaints, but kept carefully off from any analysis of particular conjunctures. We must also consider that, during the administration of Struensee, nothing was transacted but what received the immediate sanction of the King. The orders by which the Council
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of State was abolished, by which Struensee was raised to the high rank he enjoyed, and by which every other change and regulation was effected, that formed the list of crimes against the state laid to his charge—were either signed or written by the King. To condemn these measures as pernicious or criminal, was to accuse the King either of wilful neglect of the interests of his subjects, or to declare him at once insane. Such was the conduct of the judges of Struensee; and to such men were entrusted the lives, the property, the honor, and the reputation of his Majesty's subjects: what could then be expected from their decision?

If the ignorance of these judges appeared so very evident in the enquiry into, and decision upon, his political actions, and led them into so embarrassing a dilemma, it must be acknowledged that their envy,
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and their so much boasted zeal, had a wide field to range in, in the consideration and examination of his private actions. But even here they lost themselves in absurd and ridiculous accusations, which they even carried so far, as to take notice of every trifling present accepted by him from the King, as of a crime against the state. The greatest number of these charges bore with them a very strong internal evidence of their origin—the fruitful invention of malice; and are alone sufficient to throw a true light upon the motives that produced the final sentence passed upon Struensee and his friends. It is therefore worth our while to represent some of their leading features in their proper colors.

At that time when it seemed the principal wish of the King to render himself agreeable to his consort, when Struensee possessed his most unbounded favor, when

Brandt

Brandt was his chief companion, and Falkenschiold enjoyed great influence at court, the King had presented the Queen with ten thousand dollars, Struensee and Brandt with sixty thousand each, and Falkenschiold with two thousand. Brandt had the same day returned thanks for this mark of royal favor; and the King had answered, "That he thought it but just that his services should be rewarded, *and his fortune rendered more easy, and suiteable to his rank.*" These presents, which together amounted to one hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars, were regularly brought to account in the book of the King's private expences for the months of April and May 1771, in the usual manner; and, in examining the private papers of Struensee, they were found exactly to agree with this account in every particular. But as his fortune, and that of his friend Brandt, had

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been, by this donation, so considerably augmented, his enemies eagerly laid hold of this opportunity, to charge him with the embezzlement of so large a sum. The following statement of this transaction was accordingly drawn up, and made the foundation of the accusation. The King was allowed to have given the Queen 10,000 dollars, and to Struensee and Brandt 6,000 dollars each, and no more; so that the total amount of the money thus given, would have been 22,000 dollars. Struensee was then said to have added to the sums given to him and to Brandt the cypher 0, by which a total was produced of 130,000 dollars. In order to change the former total of 22,000 into this sum, nothing was easier than to add the figure 1 to the total, and, by a slight alteration of the first 2, to convert it into 3; and in order to save the trouble of altering the second 2, Struensee

ensee was charged with having transferred 2,000 dollars to his friend Falkenschiold, which at once completed the sum of 132,000 dollars. Notwithstanding the ingenuity with which this story was fabricated, and the credit given to it by many of the enemies of the fallen minister, every impartial man thought it highly ridiculous. Even WIVET, in his report of the trial and sentence of Struensee, adduces no other proof of so important a forgery than this: "It seems," says he, "very incredible, that at a time when his Majesty presented the Queen with no more than 10,000 dollars, he should have given to two of his subjects sums so much more considerable; and, besides this, the account itself is of such a nature, as to render it highly probable that it has been altered and falsified."

Struenfee, who in general shewed but little fortitude during his examinations, strenuously denied this charge; and there can be no doubt but that the whole was a malicious fabrication of his judges: and is it, in fact, astonishing or incredible, that a King should present his minister, into whose hands he had committed the sole direction of the affairs of government, and whose fortune was very inferior to the elevated post he held, with a specific sum, sufficient to raise him above a situation incompatible with the dignity of his office? Is a present of 60,000 dollars to a favorite, a thing so very extraordinary, when accompanied with the express declaration of the monarch, that he thereby meant to place him in more easy circumstances than he was before? and who, but a man blinded by prejudice, could compare the friendly present of a Prince to his

his consort, with a donation purposely intended to enrich a subject who enjoyed his highest favor? Besides these considerations, the thanks of Brandt, and the answer of the King, were publicly delivered, and generally known. The figures of the four sums, including the present made to Falkenschiold, were written by the same hand, and with the same ink, in the account-book: the King was accustomed to sign the accounts (as appeared by all his preceding and subsequent signatures) close under the last line, so that there was no room for the interpolation of the present made to Falkenschiold. The balance was regularly carried forward into the next account, and its appropriation regularly signed by the King. Baron Schimmelman, who paid the money, and who afterwards placed it in the public funds, had received regular notice of these presents from Struensee, which

would hardly have been entrusted to him, had the minister been conscious of having made a fraudulent entry in the public accounts. But the strongest refutation of this charge is this—That the same judges, who convicted Struensee of this forgery, made it a charge against Brandt, that he had accepted a *present from the King*, to the enormous amount of 60,000 dollars: they alone were able to make this present of the King, and the forgery of Struensee in favor of his friend, agree together. But there was still a proof of this charge, by which they hoped to render it incontrovertible. The account itself, and the proofs of its incredibility, were laid before the King himself, and much pains taken to convince him that he never could have made so considerable a present to a subject; to which he answered, “That he
 “ could not recollect ever to have given
 “ away

"away so large a sum of money at once."

But whoever has paid any attention to what I have already said concerning the debilitated state of the King's mind, can easily judge how much such evidence ought to have weighed in the scale of justice, in which nothing but positive proofs of guilt ought to affect the life of a man.

I now come to the principal charges made against Count Brandt. Were I to analyze these accusations in all their parts, I should exhibit a picture very little suited to the gravity of my subject; so very ridiculous must they appear, in whatever point of view they are considered.

The complaints against him rested upon actions in the highest degree trifling, ambiguous, or fictitious, or upon such little failings as seem inseparable from human nature, and which might with equal justice have been charged upon any other

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individual:

individual : they were more founded upon intentions of which he was suspected, than upon any base action that could be proved upon him. He was accused of having been wholly devoted to Struensee ; of having endeavored, by every method he could devise, to remove from the King's person every one who seemed disaffected to his party ; of disrespectful and insulting behaviour to Prince Frederic, when, in the capacity of Inspector of the Theatres, he requested him to retire from the King's box, and to take his seat in another ; and, finally, of having accepted the sum of 60,000 dollars. All these complaints were, in the eyes of his judges, so many crimes committed against the public welfare. But they would still have found it difficult to pronounce a sentence of death upon them, had they not had one charge in reserve, which was stated to be the highest and

and most unpardonable crime against the sacred person of his Majesty. Upon this charge the ruin of the unfortunate Count was built; and in the history of this strange revolution, abounding in uncommon occurrences, this charge is not one of the least remarkable circumstances.

“ While the King was playing in his usual manner with Count Brandt, the Count bit his Majesty’s finger.”

This is the horrid deed that cost Brandt his life: but in these plain words the crime was not expressed, when heard and judged upon by the Commissioners. A pompous accumulation of words painted it in the most dreadful colors. It was represented as a nefarious conspiracy of Struensee and Brandt, to avenge the honor of the latter, which had been affected by a sarcastic observation of the King. Struensee seduced Brandt to the dreadful
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act: Brandt took care to send the attendants out of the way; he then fell upon the defenceless Monarch, collared him, and committed the gross violation of his sacred person. I here insert the very words of the final decision of the Commissioners, from the copy printed by them after the execution of the prisoners.

“ Brandt, stung by some satirical observations of the King, resolved to be revenged. He discovered his design to Count Struensee, and by his assistance formed the horrid plan. The time and the manner of the attack were determined upon; the weapons to be used against the Monarch, were provided; but, upon more mature deliberation, they were laid aside. Struensee brought the news, that the King was alone: Brandt ordered the attendants to quit the anti-chamber, entered the King’s apartment,

“ apartment, and bolted the door. He
 “ then addressed the monarch in the most
 “ insulting language, and forced him to
 “ a violent mode of resentment; upon
 “ which he collared him, wounded him
 “ in the neck, and——bit his finger.”

Such a charge raised the indignation of every honest man; it seemed an insult to the King, and wholly ridiculous as a charge against Brandt. It was universally laughed at, and no where believed. But it was for this crime that Brandt suffered a cruel and ignominious death.

Such were the charges exhibited against these unfortunate men, by judges previously resolved upon their death. They found no difficulty in condemning them, for that was the purport of their commission; but they were much at a loss in what manner they should draw up the sentence of their condemnation. They
 dared

dated not so much as mention the only crime of which Struensee confessed himself guilty; and they could not but feel, that by no other action he, much less his fellow prisoner, had deserved death. Much time was, therefore, still employed in searching for additional charges against them.

Four commissioners were now appointed to proceed to the principal part of this great cause, upon which it was necessary to decide, in order to insure stability to the success of the revolution. The commissioners were, old Count THOTT, Baron SCHAK-RATHLAU, both members of the Council of State; Baron JUEL-WIND, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; and the Solicitor-General, STAMPE. On the 9th of March they proceeded to Cronenburg, to examine the Queen Matilda; and Baron Schak-Rathlau was appointed

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to take the lead in this important examination. A long and tedious series of days spent in the most gloomy solitude, the most exquisite distress, and tormenting suspense, had not yet broke the spirit of this noble Princess. She received the commissioners with an unaffected dignity, which displayed in its full extent the strength of her soul. A long string of captious and distressing questions which were put to her, were not able to disconcert her; her answers were short, pertinent, and precise; she calmly insisted, that she could not reproach herself with any crime: and her unexpected fortitude and coolness threw the Commissioners into the utmost embarrassment. The cunning Schak saw plainly that he must in vain attempt to cope with the understanding of the Queen; but he hoped that her heart was not equally proof against his subtlety:

subtlety: and he promised himself as complete success in an attack upon the tenderness of her disposition, as she had in defeating his sophistical reasoning. He therefore made use of a stratagem, in order to procure from her that confession, which alone could give validity to the sentence they were previously determined to pronounce, that led him to an action, by which his name will be for ever branded with infamy. He was no more that noble-minded man, who formerly had sacrificed rank, dignity, and riches, rather than submit to be a member of a Board, the long established rights of which were infringed upon; he was now a supple courtier, ready to go upon any service by which he could insure to himself favour, influence, or money; he had lost all the strength of his mind; every noble feature in his character was effaced; he was

was ready to flatter the powerful, to insult the weak, and to deceive the unsuspecting. A long and painful disorder had rather deranged his understanding; and being weary of hopeless poverty, he stooped to the basest means of acquiring wealth, and by degrees lost the good opinion of every honest man. His conduct upon the present occasion completed the portrait I have drawn of his character.

He abruptly informed the Queen, that Count Struensee, in his examination on the 21st of February, had made a confession highly disgraceful to the honor and dignity of her Majesty. "Impossible!" cried the astonished Matilda; "Struensee never could make such a confession; and, if he did, I deny every thing he has said." Schak was too cunning to suffer her to recover from her fright and astonishment; but added immediately, that Struensee had not
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only actually made this confession, but had confirmed it in his examination on the following day, and had even signed it: but that, as the Queen denied its truth, nothing but the most excruciating tortures, and the most ignominious death, could atone for so gross a violation of the majesty of the Queen of Denmark.

This was a thunder-bolt to the unfortunate Princess; she fell senseless back upon her chair; her color left her cheeks, and a deadly paleness occupied its place. Her regard for her honor struggled violently with her feelings. She at last recovered; and said, with a faltering voice, "And if I confess what Struensee has said to be true, may he then hope for mercy at the hand of his judges?" She at the same time cast her beautiful eyes at Count Schak, with a look full of fear and hope, and expressive of every thing her lips dared not

not to utter. The countenance of Schak immediately cleared up; he bowed assent, in a manner which the Queen might interpret as favorably as she pleased; and presented to her a paper, containing the accusations against herself, to which nothing was wanting to complete the triumph of her enemies, but her signature. This dreadful instrument of her destruction renewed in the mind of the Queen the most violent emotion, and her whole frame was in the greatest agitation. Suddenly she seemed to exert her utmost fortitude; she took a pen and began, with trembling hand, to write her name. She had already finished the letters CAROL— when casting a glance at Schak, she saw his eyes eagerly fixed upon her hand; he trembled with impatience, and betrayed in his face the malicious joy of triumphant treachery. In a moment she was con-

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vinced of the base arts practised against her; she threw away the pen, and cried with the strongest emotion, "I am shamefully
 " deceived; Struensee never accused me;
 " I know him too well; he never could
 " have been guilty of so great a crime."
 —She endeavored to rise, but her strength failed her; she sunk down, fainted, and fell back into her seat. With the most impudent audacity Schak then immediately took up the pen, put it between her fingers, and grasping her hand in his, he guided it; and before the unfortunate Princess again recovered, she had added the letters —INA MATILDA to the former CAROL—. The Commissioners immediately departed, and left her alone. Their sudden disappearance had the most dreadful effect upon the mind of the Queen; she at once foresaw the whole of her terrible misfortunes. She swooned away successively

cessively for a considerable time, grew dangerously ill, and it was with difficulty her life was saved.

The Commissioners appointed to enquire into the crimes and misdemeanors of Counts Struensee and Brandt, and of their adherents, having finished their examinations, an extraordinary Grand Tribunal was created to try the cause of the reigning Queen, and to pronounce sentence upon her. Each of its members received previous instructions, according to which he was required to give his vote. The final sentence upon the Queen was already drawn up, and her fate decided long before the Court of Trial met; but the moment in which this sentence was to be passed and made public, threatened so much danger to the royal family, was of so much importance to the interests of Denmark, and would naturally so excite the attention of all Europe, that it

was necessary to hide the true motives that dictated this sentence, in as much outward parade, and specious shew of justice, as possible. Nothing was therefore neglected by which an appearance of conscientious impartiality could be added to this mock tribunal. It was made to consist of thirty-five members, among whom were the Bishop of Copenhagen, and four other spiritual members; the four ministers of state, Counts Thott and Osten, Baron Schak-Rathlau, and Admiral Römeling; the members of the commission by which the other prisoners had been examined; the members of the Supreme Court of Justice, who did not sit upon that commission; two Officers of the Infantry, and two of the Navy; a few Counsellors of State, and a City Magistrate. Mr. UHLDAL, Advocate of the Supreme Court, a man eminent both for profound learning and great eloquence, was appointed

appointed to defend the cause of the Queen. All the members of the tribunal, as well as the counsel for and against the Queen, were released from every other judicial obligation. But all these plausible preparations were without effect; nobody was deceived; and the event only justified the public expectation.

The first session of this extraordinary tribunal was held on the 24th of March. The Advocate OLAS LUND BANG, who conducted the accusation against the Queen, rose, in the name of the King; and after having expatiated upon the crimes she stood charged with, in a long speech, in which he very frequently exceeded all bounds of moderation, decency, and respect, he concluded by requesting, that a sentence of divorce from the bed of her Lord might be pronounced against her. Her Majesty's advocate then prayed that

a delay of eight or ten days might be granted him, that he might have sufficient time to consult with the Queen upon the best mode of conducting her defence. His request was acceded to; and, by permission of the court, UHLDAL repaired immediately to Cronenburg, where he had a long, an important, and a very interesting conversation with his royal client.

The situation of the Queen was distressing beyond description. Young, beautiful, blessed by nature, and accomplished by education, with every thing that could render her susceptible of the most refined happiness throughout life, she now stood upon the very margin of a gulph, which was ready to swallow up every thing that could be dear to her—her honor, her rank, her peace of mind; one moment was to rob her of her children, her husband, and her throne: and that she should survive this

this calamitous change, was a consideration fraught with new horror. Her sensibility rendered her capable of feeling her misery in its utmost extent; and the expressions in which she depicted the excruciating apprehensions of her mind to Uhldal, fully shewed with what acuteness she felt them.

“ I should be inconsolable,” said she among others, “ if the most trifling of my actions
 “ could have tended in the least to the
 “ dishonor or disadvantage of the King
 “ and the state. I have perhaps been imprudent, but have never meant ill;
 “ and in those points in which I have
 “ failed, my youth, and the strange circumstances in which I was placed, ought
 “ to plead my apology. I was too secure
 “ of the suspicion or censure of the world,
 “ and this security may have led me into
 “ error. If the laws of my country condemn me, it is my duty humbly to ac-

“ quiesce in their sentence; but in the
 “ mouth of my judges, I trust their rigor
 “ will be softened by humanity; and this
 “ affords me great comfort.—But when I
 “ consider that my King, my husband,
 “ must confirm their sentence, then, then
 “ my languishing hopes revive—he will
 “ surely never desert me, nor cast me from
 “ him into endless misery and despair!”

Her tears and sighs frequently interrupted
 this moving address; at last she found some
 relief from the acuteness of her feelings, in
 her weakness to support them, rather than
 in a diminution of her distress. She spoke
 to Uhldal in a more tranquil tone, and
 consulted with him upon the best means by
 which her cause could be defended.

The second session of the Grand Tri-
 bunal was held on the 2d of April.
 Uhldal appeared with his answer to the
 accusations brought against the Queen by

Olas

Olas Lund Bang, and the speech he made in defence of his royal client, did honor to his talents, and to the fame he had acquired. He painted her amiable character, her situation, and her distress, in the most striking colours: his eloquence seemed to have at least a temporary effect upon the hearts of the most obdurate of his hearers, in describing the scene before them—a Queen, accused by her husband and her monarch of the most dreadful crime, descending from her throne, and upon a level with the most abject of her subjects, claiming the protection of the laws of her country—an amiable princess, whom the public voice justly styled the mother of her people, appearing at the bar of national justice, and expecting the decision of her fate at the hands of her subjects. UHLDAI asked this important question, Whether, upon mature deliberation, it would not be
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more prudent, more honorable, and consistent with the dignity of the Crown, of the Royal Family, and of the whole nation, to confirm the Queen in her full power and rights by a public decision of her cause, than to brand her name for ever with infamy by a sentence equally disgraceful in the eyes of his subjects, and of the world at large, to the character of the King. He then separately examined the charges, and went through every part of their prolix contents. He proved that, by the established laws of Denmark, no sentence could be pronounced against her, upon the confession extorted from Struensee and herself. He shewed the great want of credibility in the principal evidences against her, and the insufficiency of their testimony, allowing its truth. He reminded the Judges, in the most forcible manner, of their duty to decide, unbiassed by

by hope or fear, strictly according to law and justice. He gave a most elegant description of the life of the Queen, previous to the period at which the crime she was charged with was supposed to have been committed; and represented her, with the justice she really deserved, as the most affectionate wife, the most tender mother, and the best of Queens. He further added, that, even granting the accusation against her to be founded, there was every reason to hope, that her virtues, nursed by experience, would ripen into fair perfection, and prove a blessing to her subjects. He concluded with an ardent hope and prayer, that the Queen be acquitted of the charges brought against her in the name of his Majesty.

This whole defence did infinite honor to Uhldal, but the cause of the Queen reaped no advantage from his labors. The third session

session of the Grand Tribunal decided her fate; and a formal divorce separated her for ever from her husband.

It was now seriously deliberated, whether the infant Princess Louisa ought not to share the misfortunes of her mother, and be deprived of the privileges of her birth. This was a consideration of great importance, which might materially affect the succession to the crown; as by a law of Frederic III. made December 14th, 1665, and confirmed by every succeeding King, the Princesses of the blood of Denmark are, in default of male issue, entitled to ascend the throne. The chief difficulty in this business arose from the circumstance, that the Princess Louisa had been announced to the British, and to the rest of the European courts, at her birth, as the daughter of the King; and it seemed dangerous now to declare her to be illegitimate.

mate. It was therefore resolved to defer the decision upon this point for the present. The fear of the resentment of the British court induced the reigning party likewise to publish the sentence pronounced against the Queen by no other means, than by acquainting the different departments of government therewith, to whom it was absolutely necessary that it should be known. This was done by a short note, in which the divorce was mentioned, without assigning any cause why it had taken place. The sentence itself was recorded in the Court of Chancery of Denmark, that it might be preserved for the information of posterity. Baron Juel-Wind, Justiciary of the Supreme Court, was ordered to inform the Queen of the result of her trial, and on the 9th of April he performed this melancholy duty, in the presence of the Governor of Cronenburg. From that mo-

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ment she was less closely confined, and the English ambassador had leave to visit her as often as he pleased. The blow was successfully struck, and her enemies had now no more to fear from her.

This important business being completed, the final sentence still remained to be pronounced upon Struensee and Brandt. The time necessary to go through the different forms of the judicial proceedings alone delayed the infliction of that punishment already decreed for them. The Fiscal-general Wivet appeared before the Commissioners, April 21st, as their accuser; and he performed this solemn part of his duty in so ludicrous and indecent a manner, that their advocate Uhldal could not refrain from severely and publicly reproaching him with baseness, in having endeavored to increase the misfortunes of these two men, already sufficiently oppressed,

pressed, by the contempt and ridicule with which he had treated them. The whole speech of Wivet is nothing but a tedious and malign description of the life of that minister, in which his most indifferent actions are represented as crimes of a heinous nature; but all the sophistry of his arguments cannot conceal their futility. The defence of Uhldal, which he on the following day delivered before the Commissioners, is written in a very different style. It is simple, but bold, and easily confutes every charge contained in the accusation. In the minds of any judges, but of such as had previously sworn the ruin of the accused, its success, except in one point, must have been complete. But the hired commissioners, to whom his cause was referred, had already rejected with contempt another defence written by Struensee himself, while in prison; in which
he

he had defended his conduct and plans throughout his administration, in that plain and unaffected style of eloquence, which truth and innocence alone can inspire.— What I have above stated, concerning the condemnation of Struensee and Brandt, is sufficient to shew the tendency of these three documents, without a circumstantial analysis of their contents.

The 25th of March was the day on which sentence was pronounced against Brandt and Struensee; a sentence dictated by the most blood-thirsty revenge, to gratify which they lost their character, their property, and their lives, and were condemned to suffer a public, a disgraceful, and a cruel death. His sentence is one of the most extraordinary documents to be found in the annals of any court. Struensee was convicted of but one offence, and Brandt was perfectly innocent. The crime of
Struensee

Struensee is not even mentioned in the sentence; the whole of which indeed is nothing but a long and tedious list of ambiguous actions, not one of which, in its most criminal point of view, could justify a capital punishment; and upon so slight a foundation was the decision built, which condemned these unfortunate men to the most excruciating and shameful death. Humanity revolts at the idea, and is at a loss for expressions to paint her feelings upon the occasion.—Immediately after the last sitting of the Commissioners, this sentence was read to the two Counts. They heard it with modest submission; uttered no complaints, but recommended themselves to the mercy of the Monarch, as the only protection against the rigor of their sentence. But their hopes of mercy were in vain. The victorious party was even impudent enough to assert, that the King had

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rejected the most pressing entreaties in favor of Count Brandt, and had signed the sentence in spite of prayer and remonstrance. Every man of honor felt himself insulted by so gross an imposition, especially as it was well known that the King had signed his condemnation with as much indifference, as if it had been an order for a public festival. He was, besides, wholly incapable of rational conduct; nor did he even see the sentence till the 27th of March, the day before it was executed.

It had been ordered by the Commissioners, that the execution of Struenfee and Brandt should not take place upon the usual spot, but that a large plain, contiguous to the city, should be appropriated and prepared for that purpose. This horrid scene commenced at nine o'clock on the morning of the 28th. The Reverend

Dr.

Dr. Münter* assisted Count Struensee, and the Reverend Mr. Hee attended Count Brandt, in their last devotions. Brandt mounted the scaffold first; and it seemed, from the undisturbed calmness of his behavior, that till that moment he had still hoped to receive mercy. His conscious innocence had fondly cherished this hope; but when he at last saw that all his expectations were in vain, he prepared to meet his fate with mild resignation. He was executed first: he beheld, with unshaken firmness, the axe sever his right hand from his body; and with equal fortitude submitted his neck to the stroke that deprived him of his life. His head was taken up, and repeatedly exhibited to the innu-

* Dr. Münter published a pamphlet intitled, The Conversion of Count Struensee, in which the author's piety is more evident than either his judgment, or his knowledge of human nature. The EDITOR.

merable spectators that surrounded the bloody scaffold.—Struenfee did not shew the same courage: his hand was cut off, in the most awkward and painful manner, by reiterated strokes: he rose from the block with violence; and was obliged to be held down by main force to receive the fatal blow. Both these executions were conducted with great disorder, and loss of time; by which the sufferings of the unfortunate victims were cruelly and unnecessarily lengthened. I pass over in silence the rest of this shocking scene of butchery. No pen can paint its horror; nor could any of my readers, in whose breasts the least spark of sensibility or humanity glows, bear the recital*: and to touch it ever so slightly, would rouse the indignation of every feeling heart. Its effect upon the spectators cannot be described. They had crowded

* See Remark XVIII.

to the place of execution with that eager vehemence peculiar to the populace, when provoked to revenge by a long series of injuries, and inflamed by every method which faction can invent. They returned from the bloody scene fully satiated; its horror had exceeded the utmost wish of their anger: their hatred against the sufferers was annihilated, although they had not yet time to perceive that the sensations excited in them proceeded from those seeds of compassion and human kindness, which had not yet been wholly destroyed in their breasts: and this innumerable multitude re-entered the city, at *one* gate, in fullen silence, undisturbed by tumult or crowding, and quietly slunk back to their different habitations.

This dreadful day was closed with the same inhumanity with which it had been opened. Without the least necessity, a long

circuit was taken, in dragging the melancholy remains of the two Counts through the town to the place where they were to be exposed to public view. It seems as if invention had been put to the rack, to produce new cruelties upon this horrid occasion; and to disgrace this day in the annals of Denmark, by exhibiting every thing that was base, shameful, and shocking to humanity.

The dead silence which reigned throughout the city on the following days, was an undeniable proof of the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants at what had happened. It was therefore thought necessary to lay before the public, by means of the press, the final sentence pronounced against Struensee and Brandt, with a list of those crimes for which they had suffered.—But this measure had an effect directly contrary to what was intended. Nothing appeared
more

more evident, throughout this document, than a wish to find the two Counts guilty; and the utmost labor, by a long chain of absurd arguments and fallacious conclusions, to accomplish this wish. The fate of Count Brandt, more especially, roused the indignation of every man of sense and feeling, and created a general spirit of discontent and murmuring.

The Commissioners, who had still to pronounce sentence upon the adherents of Struensee and Brandt, cared little about their fate, after having obtained their grand object in the execution of the two leaders. They left these unfortunate men to languish in unhealthy dungeons, in the most cruel suspense regarding their destiny. After a delay of eight or ten days, they sent all the papers relating to their affairs to the Council of State. The Council refused to undertake the task, and sent them

back again; and, after long wrangling and dispute, the ministers were at last ordered to pronounce sentence upon the prisoners. This sentence was as follows: Madame Von Göhler was released from her confinement in her own house, but ordered never to appear at court. Rear-admiral Hansen was deprived of his seat at the Board of Admiralty. Lieutenant Colonel Hesselberg, and the Diplomatic Counsellor Sturz, were ordered to live in a small town in Schleswig; the former upon a stipend of 300, and the latter of 500, dollars*. Lieutenant Aboe *was acquitted of every charge against him*, and banished the realm for the term of two years. The Counsellor of State Willebrandt, and the Royal Physician Berger, were banished the metropolis, upon a stipend of 300 dollars each; and the latter was or-

* About 45 and 82 pounds sterling.

dered

dered to spend the remainder of his life at Aalborg in Jutland. There remained still three prisoners, upon whose fate the judges could not speedily decide: these were, General Göhler, Colonel Falkenschiold, and the First Commissioner of Finance, Struensee. The sentence pronounced upon the first, served as a specimen of what the others might expect. This brave warrior was deprived of his post, his rank, and his pay; was banished the islands of Seeland, Fühnen, and the Duchy of Schleswig; and reduced to an annual stipend of 1000 dollars*; *because, according to the very words of his sentence, he had given cause of suspicion.* The spite of Prince Frederic dictated the sentence of Colonel Falkenschiold: he was deprived of his command, and of his post as Royal Chamberlain; and banished for

* About 160l. sterling.

life to Münkholm, a fortress situate in the most northerly part of Norway, where he was allowed only half a dollar* a day for his subsistence: he was twenty-seven years of age, and no crime could be laid to his charge, but his friendship for Struensee.—Struensee, the Commissioner of Finance, who after the execution of his brother had been thrown into irons, was obliged to petition for his release: upon which his papers and effects were restored to him; but a promise was exacted from him, that he never would write or speak upon the revolution†.

Measures

* About 1s. 8d.

† The mild sentence passed upon the brother of Count Struensee, may perhaps appear surprising. But the following fact accounts for the lenity shewn to him, in comparison with the rest of that party. At the time when Struensee, the Commissioner of Finance, was arrested, his wife, who resided in Silesia, hearing of his misfortune, imparted her distress on that account to her friend Baron Hofman, at present Chancellor of the

Measures were now taken for the removal of Queen Matilda from Cronenburg. The small town of Aalborg in Jutland was first intended for her residence, and she herself seemed to wish to live within the Danish dominions. But when she heard of the melancholy end of her friends, she changed her resolution. Her brother, the King of England, had made an offer to the Danish court, to appoint her a residence in the electorate of Hanover: this proposal was accepted; and it was at the same time agreed, that she should still keep the title and rank of a Queen. Her dower of 250,000 dollars

the University of Halle, in Saxony. Hofman immediately wrote to the late King of Prussia, requesting his interference in favor of Struensee; in consequence of which, Frederic II. immediately reclaimed him as a subject. The influence of so powerful a friend was very evident in the sentence passed upon him.

The Editor,

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was returned, and an annuity of 30,000 dollars * settled upon her for life.

On the 27th of May, two English frigates of thirty-two guns each, and a cutter †, arrived at Helsingör; and on the 30th instant the Queen left Cronenburg. The last moments which this amiable Princess spent in the Danish dominions, were distressing in the highest degree. She was now under the necessity of parting from her only comfort, the only object of her affection, her infant daughter; and of leaving her in the hands of her sworn ene-

* About 5000*l.* sterling.

† This squadron was commanded by the gallant Captain Macbride, whose conduct upon this, as on every other occasion, was that of a gentleman, a brave officer, and a true patriot. He conducted her to the frigate in his barge: the squadron saluted her, upon her coming on board, as the sister of the British Monarch; and as soon as she was on board, he hoisted the Danish colours, and insisted that the fort of Cronenburg should salute her as Queen of Denmark; which salute he returned with two guns less.—The EDITOR.

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mies. She fondly pressed for some minutes the babe to her bosom, and bedewed it with a shower of tears: she then attempted to tear herself away; but the voice, the smiles, the endearing motions of her infant, were chains that irresistibly drew her back. At last she called up all her resolution, took her once more into her arms, imprinted upon her lips, with the impetuous ardor of distracting love, the farewell kiss, returned her to the attendant, and cried, "Away, away! I now possess nothing here."—One of the King's boats carried her to the first frigate, and the squadron set sail for Stade, from whence she was to travel by land to Zelle. The English Ambassador, Sir Robert Keith—and Mr. Von Holstein, Master of the Queen's Household, with his lady—had the honour to accompany her. Unfortunately the ships were detained by contrary winds; and

and she had still, for a whole day, the distressing view of the country, which to her had been the source of so many misfortunes, before her eyes. The next day a favorable wind enabled her to proceed on her voyage.

Thus ended this memorable revolution, which is certainly one of the most extraordinary political events in the history of any country. The Princess who thereby lost the most exalted situation that birth or fortune can bestow, deserved a better fate. Truth cannot deny, nor judgment approve, her errors; but the heart must allow that she had the justest claim to pity and indulgence. Her sensibility, and the circumstances into which she was thrown, were against her—powerful enemies to a susceptible mind, whose very excellences were such as to lead her into danger. After her *first* error, the good qualities of her

her own heart hurried her into the embarrassments in which she was involved. The warmth of her disposition led her to take the first step upon the wrong path : she was too much infatuated to be immediately conscious of it ; and she had already proceeded a considerable length before she discovered her mistake. The discovery alarmed her, and she tried to step back, but a thousand obstacles opposed her return ; she felt herself too weak to overcome them, and her first endeavors to that end were mistaken, and led her deeper into error. Her mind was extremely distressed ; and to alleviate this distress, became her only study. Dissipation offered her the readiest assistance ; and, with the activity of mind peculiar to herself, she grasped at every thing that could drive from her the *evil of reflection*. Her conduct since that dreadful moment, when the veil

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was torn from her eyes—when she was roused from her trance, and a long and severe punishment inflicted upon her for her folly—is her best defence with the humane, the susceptible, and the virtuous heart, untainted by the poison of slander and calumny.

CRONENBURG witnessed, in this Princess, the most sincere repentance, the most tender maternal affection, the noblest sympathy with her unfortunate friends, and the most heroic resignation to her cruel fate. ZELLE afterwards admired in her the purest virtue and piety, the sweetest affability, the most compassionate heart; and a degree of fortitude in her distressing situation, which shed a soft and tranquil lustre over the evening of her life.

The minister likewise, whose blood sealed the revolution, deserves our pity. STRUENSEE possessed wisdom, abilities, and knowledge,

ledge, that might have been of infinite use to the Danish empire, and which had actually raised it to as high a pitch of improvement as its situation at that time would admit. But in the beginning of his operations his enemies threw obstacles in his way, which he at first overlooked; then, in the plenitude of his power, despised; and at which, when his situation became embarrassing, he at last trembled. The edifice he had erected was therefore necessarily a tottering fabric; and, when it fell, it crushed him in its ruins. Had he continued throughout his administration to act with the same vigor of mind which characterised his first undertakings—by which he seemed to rise superior to fortune itself, and boldly to defy its caprice—the astonished Danes might have long beheld him at the helm of government; he might probably have acquired praise, splendor,

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same, and the gratitude of the nation he governed; and his name might have gone down to posterity among those of wise, good, and prosperous statesmen.

T REMARKS,

REMARKS, ADDITIONS,

AND

EXPLANATORY OBSERVATIONS.

I. Page 13, line 10.

DURING the life of King Frederic the Fifth, the royal family were frequently entertained by a water-frölic, upon that part of the sea which lies immediately behind the palace of Friedensburg. The present King was, in one of these expeditions, more wild and disorderly than usual: neither entreaties nor remonstrances could prevail upon him to be quiet. One of the Gentlemen of the Household, Brockdorf by name, whose manners were in general not the most polished, threatened to throw the young Prince into the water, unless he

behaved more decently; and, taking him by the arm, he was really unfortunate or awkward enough to throw him overboard. The Prince was immediately saved, but he never forgot the circumstance; and ascribed his misfortune to a design of his step-mother upon his life, in order to raise her son Prince FREDERIC to the throne. This suspicion grew up with him; and it was in vain to attempt to persuade him to the contrary.

II. Page 19, line 12.

The Russian ambassadors, Salder and Philosophow, acquired a degree of authority at the court of Denmark, highly degrading to the royal power, offensive to the servants of the crown, and inimical to the interests of the state. Their influence decided every action of the monarch. This power became, in the hands of these haughty
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and imprudent men, daily more dangerous; and they assumed a language, upon every occasion, which nobody dared to contradict. It was Salder who persuaded the King, against the advice of his ministers, and the wishes of his people, to undertake his journey to France and England. Whoever is acquainted with the history of the man, will be astonished at the splendid part he acted at the Danish court. Salder was born of an ignoble family (see Note †, p. 32.) in Holfatia. He was steward to the Royal Manor of Trittau, where he was taken up for embezzlement; and, by a sentence of court, deprived of his employment and character. From thence he went to Russia, was taken into the favor and service of the court; and, without any regard to the light in which he must appear in the Danish dominions, he was sent ambassador to Copenhagen. The superior in-

fluence and power of the Russian court at Copenhagen, and the weakness of the King, occasioned a series of events, which in some measure apologise for this extraordinary and inconsiderate behavior of one court to another, as a measure of expediency; but it can never be justified by the rules of delicacy.

III. Page 35, line 12.

This lady did not remain long at court. Soon after her arrival she fell out with Madame Von Pless, Mistress of the Queen's Household, and her only friend. When, by the intrigues of the Russian ambassador, the latter lost her appointment, the Queen suspected that Madame Von Berkenhien had not a little contributed to the removal of her friend. This so exasperated her, that she would not consent to the departure of Madame Von Pless, till the King had promised

promised her that Madame Von Berken-
thien should also be dismissed.

IV. Page 43, line 15.

It was not merely to gratify his ambi-
tion that Struensee procured the title of
Conferenz-rath, or honorary member of the
Privy Council; but it was a character ab-
solutely necessary to the accomplishment
of his views, as it gave him the privilege
of following the King to his country resi-
dences, and of dining at the royal table.
The conduct of Struensee, at that time,
was marked both by modesty and pru-
dence; and the plan he had laid down to-
wards attaining the object of his wishes,
was founded upon wise principles. It may
perhaps with truth be asserted, that, when-
ever he acted with prudence, he acted ac-
cording to the dictates of his natural cha-
racter; but that the errors into which he

fell must be ascribed to the untoward circumstances in which he was involved. The ambition of Struensee comprised views of too great magnitude and extent to be gratified by vain honors and empty titles; and, when at the lowest step of his career, he aspired at obtaining the highest. Many and great obstacles lay in his way, and powerful rivals endeavored to push him back; and it was not an easy task to remove the former, while he had to cope with and conquer the latter. Every step he took increased old, and created new, jealousies: before he could arrive at the summit of his hopes, a series of victories over his enemies was requisite to pave the way; and he saw at once clearly, that, to succeed, it was necessary for him not only to conquer, but to secure his conquests.

V. Page 51, line 11.

Count Ranzau was highly exasperated against the court of Russia. The chief cause of this enmity was the treatment he received at Petersburg, after the well-known revolution in the year 1762. He was then employed by the present Empress of Russia in the conduct of certain intrigues which chiefly contributed to the success of that extraordinary event. He likewise assisted Count ORLOW in drawing up the plan of operations which were afterwards in part pursued. His services were however repaid with coolness and contempt, and he left Petersburg in disgust. He then came to Denmark, found means to acquire the friendship of Count St. Germain, whose influence was then decisive in all military affairs; and when, in the year 1766, Count Schmettau was dismissed, he obtained his place as Commander

mander in Chief of the Troops in Norway. In this post he conducted himself so improperly, that he was discharged in the following year; and shared, with many others, the fall and disgrace of Count St. Germain. During his residence at St. Petersburg, he had acted a part which gave him an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of transactions, which the Russians court must for ever wish to hide from the world; and on this account likewise it was, that the Empress never forgave the Queen and Struensee the encouragement and advancement of a man whom she had so much reason to suspect.

VI. Page 66, line 6.

During the reign of the Empress ELIZABETH of Russia, Count Osten resided in the capacity of Danish Ambassador at Petersburg, where he contracted a very intimate

mate friendship with Count Poniatowski, the present King of Poland, then Ambassador from that republic; whose influence with the Grand Duchess was very considerable; and who introduced Count Osten to her in a very favorable manner. The peculiar circumstances that occurred between Poniatowski and that Princess, gave Osten an opportunity of rendering both parties considerable services; and the Princess shewed her gratitude to him in a manner which rendered his stay at Petersburg very pleasant, and was the foundation of his constant attachment to the views of Russia.

VII. Page 89.

Struensee effected the removal of the nobility from Copenhagen, by a measure, the success of which was as instantaneous as it was complete. He prevailed upon the

the King to issue an edict, by which every creditor was impowered to arrest his debtor, without regard to birth or rank. The palaces of most of the first nobility were soon quitted by their owners, who precipitately retired to their estates in the country. Among the fugitives was Count Lauerwig, a man whose presence gave Struensee much uneasiness, against whom this new law was principally directed, and who, previous to its promulgation, was the only nobleman who had received orders not to appear at Court.

VIII. Page 96, line 12.

The Danish and German Courts of Chancery were ordered to deliver in an account of all their fees and perquisites. This was accordingly done, but the sum was stated considerably below their real amount. No objection was made to this account

account by the Minister; but the salaries of the officers were increased according to the amount delivered in of all their emoluments, and the fees and perquisites were ordered to be paid into the royal treasury. To have complained of their loss, would have exposed their fraud, and they were therefore under the necessity of silently submitting to it.

IX. Page 97, line 1.

This council consists of thirty-two of the principal citizens of Copenhagen, and was, after the revolution, reinstated in all its rights and privileges. The vacancies in the Council are supplied by a majority of the votes of its members: every measure, edict, and regulation of the Council of State comes under its consideration: it has the disposal of the revenues, and the management of the expences of the city and

and corporation; and has a right to oppose every measure which seems contrary to the interests or liberties of the citizens. These immunities were granted to the citizens of Copenhagen, on the 24th of September, 1664, by *FREDERIC the Third*, as a reward for their loyalty and bravery during the siege of that town, and the establishment of unlimited monarchy in the year 1660; and none of his successors had ever infringed upon them.

X. Page 97, line 4.

By this measure the amazing expences of the royal studs were saved; but the advantages derived from the sale of the beautiful breed of horses produced by them, which had always nearly refunded the expence of maintaining them, were lost. Upon this occasion, Struensee betrayed the first signs of the weakness of his mind.

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He met the horse-guards, after their dismissal, marching to their quarters in the best order, with Count Ahlefeldt at their head. He fancied that they had mutinied, hurried to the palace, and did not rest till Count Ahlefeldt had received a formal discharge; and measures had been taken to send back the men, who were all Norwegians, to their own country.

XI. Page 167.

One of the most active instruments in the whole revolution, was one Biernschield, a most contemptible character, whom certain *dirty* affairs in which he was involved had brought to Copenhagen. Count Ranzau, who had many acquaintances of this sort, thought him a very fit person to be of service in the conspiracy; and he was successfully employed in acting such parts as suited the meanness of his character,

rafter, and his infamous talents. He assisted in taking Count Brandt into custody; he inflamed the minds of the people; by breeding a riot amongst them; he spread slanderous reports against the Queen; disseminated false calumnies against Struensee; and, by bawling out the names of Juliana and Frederic, endeavoured to raise the acclamations of the mob. In general, he perfectly answered the great expectations formed of him by his patron, Count Ranzau. This inconsistent man had even entrusted him with the whole plan of the conspiracy; but Biernschield acted so imprudently, that rumours of what was going forward were loudly whispered at court, and even reached the ears of Count Brandt, so that the whole secret had been nearly betrayed. When, on the day after the revolution, rewards were distributed among the most active of the conspirators,

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the services of Biernschield were not forgotten, and he was honoured with the title of Royal Chamberlain *. After the ferment had somewhat subsided, the great contrast between this man and the character he bore became so striking, that, as his services were no longer wanted, he was deprived of his distinction, and *advised* to reside in the country.

XII. Page 173, line 3.

The spirits of Count Ranzau were rather a little deranged, when the plan of the conspiracy came to be actually put into execution. His courage, of which he had so much boasted, entirely left him; he

* Kammerherr. This title is one of those empty distinctions, so frequent in the German and Danish courts; and is perhaps not the less contemptible, on account of the great number of those who bear it. The possessors of this title wear a key at their button-hole, as a mark of their DIGNITY.

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feigned himself sick, and sent word to Colonel Köller, that a sudden fit of the gout prevented his coming to court that evening. Köller was not satisfied with this excuse, but returned for answer, "That if he
 " could not walk, he might be carried;" and added, "that unless he soon made his
 " appearance, a corporal's guard of grenadiers should wait upon him, and
 " have the honor of conducting him to the
 " place appointed."—Ranzau apprehended some *danger* from the anger of the Colonel; and, being in the habit of avoiding it, he collected all his strength; and, in spite of his gout, he repaired with singular alertness to the rendezvous.

XIII. Page 196, line 8.

The circumstances of this affair are the following:--A sudden disturbance was heard from the upper boxes: the noise increased; and,

and, by the interference of those who endeavored to restore quiet, it grew considerably louder. Fear spread with the tumult; every body was eager to know the cause of alarm, and every body received a different answer to his enquiries. Apprehension and terror seized the whole audience, and even the royal family were in the utmost consternation. Every avenue of the house was soon crowded by those pressing to get out; and confusion reigned in all the boxes. Nobility, military officers, and ministers, fled from every part of the theatre; the King ran from his box; Prince Frederic followed him, trembling, in spite of the entreaties of the Queen, who was half dead with fear. In every corner of the house lay ladies in fits: one of the pages, and a woman belonging to the family of Baron Schimmelman, died of the fright. The whole city was already

apprised of, and alarmed by, this strange adventure. Peace was at last in some measure restored, and the cause of this universal terror enquired into.—A child had disturbed some gentlemen by its crying, which had bred a quarrel between them and the nurse!!!

XIV. Page 205.

This regulation lasted no longer than the interest of those who had made it required. Four or five months after the Revolution, royal mandates were issued, signed only by the King, which were however obeyed. It was not always the interest of Queen Juliana and Prince Frederic to submit the orders they thought proper to issue, to the consideration of the Council of State; and the signature of the King cost them, at most, *a menace*. These
mandates

mandates became afterwards very frequent.

XV. Page 208, line 2.

Colonel Falkenschiold had served as a volunteer in the Russian army; and to this circumstance the sarcasm of Prince Frederic alluded. The cause of his anger against Falkenschiold, and the revenge which he took upon him, furnish a complete portrait of his character. A considerable time before the Revolution, the Prince was once riding upon the ramparts of the city, where at the same time Falkenschiold happened to have ordered the musicians and drummers of his regiment to practice. A man who observed the Prince at a distance, informed the Colonel of his approach. Falkenschiold was offended at the officiousness of the man; and giving him a reproof, ordered

the band to proceed. The Prince, who is remarkably timid, soon sent a page to desire that the men might be ordered to some distance, as he feared his horse might take fright; upon which they were immediately commanded to remove to the next bastion. This was done in a *slow* pace, and the Prince rode quietly by. After the Revolution, one of the officers related this circumstance to the Prince, as a gross affront expressly pointed at him; and he was mean enough to listen to the accusation with evident pleasure, and to be revenged in the manner described. His heart, which had never known the pleasure of forgiving, never lost sight of this pretended insult; as appeared very evidently in the final sentence pronounced upon this unfortunate officer.

XVI. Page 217.

According to the directions of Struensee, the diet of the Prince consisted chiefly of vegetables, and he drank nothing but water. At first he was bathed twice or thrice a week in cold water, by which he gradually became used to it, and afterwards bathed with pleasure every day. His apartment was never heated; his dress was a jacket and trowsers made of light stuff, and he seldom wore shoes or stockings. He took every kind of exercise which his age would permit, by which his strength was very soon increased. He was denied every thing he desired in a peevish or crying tone of voice; but every request was immediately granted, when made in a good-humored and friendly manner. He was never punished, threatened, reproached, or

coaxed. If he committed a fault, pains were taken to convince him of its bad tendency; and he was told in what manner he *ought* to have acted: by this means repentance, and a resolution to mend, were excited in his own breast. If he happened to fall down, no anxiety or compassion was shewn him on that account. A little foundling boy, of the same age with himself, was his play-mate, and was in every respect treated in the same manner as the Prince. They mutually assisted one another in their dress, and at table; they were at liberty to do as they pleased; but every thing was carefully kept from them by which they could be injured. If they quarrelled, no umpire dared to interfere; the want of a companion soon led the offender back to the offended; and their reconciliation was the spontaneous effect of their

their own feelings. A servant constantly attended to watch their motions; but he was ordered to speak to them as little as possible, much less to entertain them by telling them idle stories. No one was permitted to play with them, or to shew the least preference or distinction to either: they were both called by their Christian names; and visitors were requested to observe the same method. Strangers were frequently introduced to them: the Prince soon accustomed himself to see new faces; they did not disturb him in his play; but he boldly beat his little drum, ran cheerfully to every one he saw, and was never happier than in a large company of visitors. In his sixth year he was to receive his first instructions; before that age experience and exercise were his only preceptors. These supplied him with ideas,
and

and his natural abilities were left to them for gradual cultivation and improvement. Let this plan be compared with the words of the sentence pronounced upon Struenfee, when it is said, "That by this mode
 " of treatment the Prince was put into the
 " greatest danger of losing not only his
 " health, but his life!"

XVII. Page 256, line 6.

The following narrative may serve as a specimen of the *honest* labors of the Commissioners. On the day when the Russian Minister Philosophow affronted Struenfee in the most gross and public manner, it was rumoured that the latter, having quarrelled with a young nobleman of the first rank, had treacherously pursued him sword in hand. This rumour was disbelieved and forgotten almost as soon as it was spread.

spread. After the imprisonment of Struensee, when it was found necessary to convict him of some crime that really deserved a capital punishment, the Chief Justiciary, Baron Juel-Wind, who was the principal judge of his cause, called upon the above-mentioned nobleman, and asked him whether he would not bring an accusation against Struensee before the Commissioners, on account of the treatment he was reported to have received? The answer of the nobleman was worthy of the dignity of his birth: he rejected the request with indignation; and said, "I am accustomed to pity the unfortunate, not to increase their distress; I will hear nothing of this business, nor bring any accusation against Struensee. Besides this, the whole story deserves not any credit, nor has it any foundation in truth."

XVIII. Page 260.

I will just add the conclusion of the sentence of condemnation against Struensee, which is exactly the same with that pronounced against Brandt:

“ It is therefore decreed, That Count
 “ JOHN FREDERIC STRUENSEE be (as
 “ the well-deserved punishment of his
 “ crimes, and as a dreadful example
 “ to others) deprived of honor, life,
 “ and property; be degraded from the
 “ rank of a Count, and from every
 “ other dignity bestowed upon him;
 “ that his coat of arms be broken by
 “ the common hangman; and that then
 “ the right hand of JOHN FREDERIC
 “ STRUENSEE be struck off, while he
 “ is alive; his head be afterwards cut
 “ from his living body; that his body
 “ be

“ be then quartered, and laid upon the
“ wheel; and his head and hand ex-
“ posed upon a pole.”

Given in full commission, at the palace
of Christiansburg, April 25th, 1772.

J. R. Juel-Wind.	A. G. Carstens.
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THE END.

5

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